

CHAPTERS FROM
RICHARD BAXTER'S
CHRISTIAN DIRECTORY
(1673)

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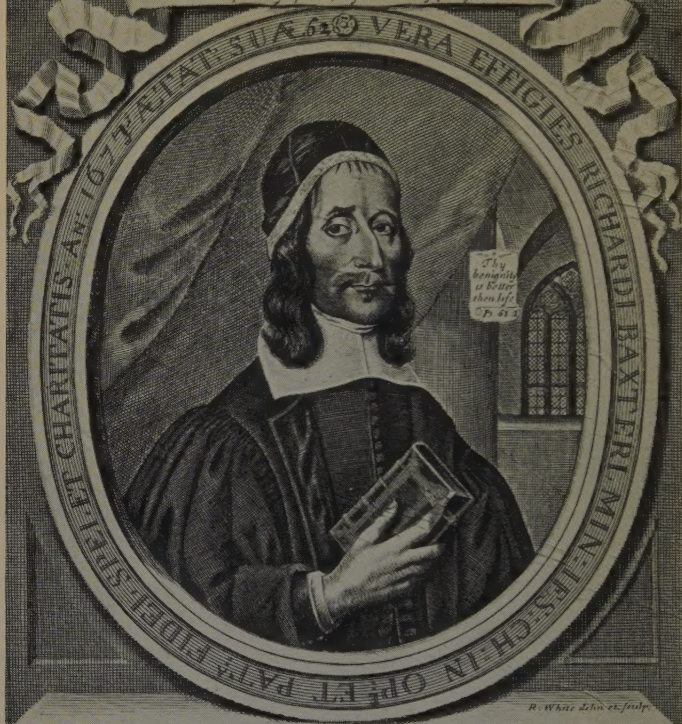
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*Nos quoque floruimus, sed flos fuit ille caducus.
Flaminaque de stipula nostra brevisque fuit. Ov.*



R. White delin. et. sculp.

*Farewell VAINE WORLD, as thou hast bin to me
DUST and a SHADOW: these I leave with thee:
The vnseen VITALL SUBSTANCE I committ,
To him that's SUBSTANCE LIFE·LIGHT LOVE to it.
The LEAVES & FRUIT are dropt for soyle & seed,
Heavens heirs to generate, to heale and feed.
Them also thou wilt flatter and molest,
But shalt not keep from Everlasting Rest.*

A CHRISTIAN DIRECTORY
OR
BODY OF PRACTICALL
DIVINITY.

Per  Christum

DEO
PATRI FILIO SPIR. S.
POTEN. SAPI. OPTI.
CREAT. REDEM. SANCT.
DOM. RECTOR PATRI.
ABSOL. IVSTITIS AMANTIS.

SUUS: SUBDITUS: FILIUS

FIDE

SPE

CHARITATE, *Ascende*

DISCO



MILITO

OPEROR

Auditions
Studio
Precc.

Carne
Subjice

Mundum
Conculco

Diabol
Resist

Ferendo.
Vigilando.
Certando.

Mento.
Corde.
Corpore.

Op. er
Pie. ta
Ius. tit
Chari. ta

Resipisc^a Humilit^e Obedientia

Patientia: Cura: Fortitudo:

Prudentia: Zelo: Industria

CHAPTERS
from
A Christian Directory

or
A SUMM OF PRACTICAL
THEOLOGY AND CASES
OF CONSCIENCE

by
RICHARD BAXTER

1618-1631



Selected by
JEANNETTE TAWNEY

with a Preface by
The Right Rev. Charles Gore, D.D.

LONDON :
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1925

[1673]

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As Mr. GEORGE HERBERT saith in his "Church Militant":

*Gold and the Gospel never did agree:
Religion always sides with Poverty.*

Usually the Rich are Proud and Obstinate, and will not endure the due conduct of the Ministry.

—*Reliquiæ Baxterianæ.*

ALBANY: J. B. BAKER, 1880

1880

ALBANY: J. B. BAKER, 1880

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PREFACE

CASUISTRY was given a bad name by Pascal, and it has stuck to it. But it was only a particular kind of casuistry which Pascal discredited—the kind which arose for the use of the priesthood, when confession to the priest had long been obligatory, and the need to get numbers of men and women absolved who had no real intention of keeping the law of God had suggested to the charitable keepers of men's consciences expedients for evading its natural force and meaning. But casuistry has no necessary connection with the confessional or with this particular situation. It arises wherever there is a moral law recognized as permanent and divine, and good men experience difficulty in applying it in particular cases which arise in experience. Such cases are so many, and the difficulties experienced fall so naturally into classes and kinds, that it becomes natural to try to produce an Applied Morality on some generalized system, and that is casuistry. The Scholastics laid the foundations of such a science, and there was nothing in the circumstances of the Reformation to make Protestants feel, any less than Catholics, the need of such a systematic application of moral principles to conduct.

Confessedly there has been in recent times no adequate attempt to provide a systematic casuistry for ordinary Christians who want to know and to do their duty. Indeed, great districts of human life have been allowed to escape almost altogether from the jurisdiction of the divine law, which nevertheless was intended to control and sanctify the whole of human life. In our day, however, such large numbers of serious Christians have come to feel with a fresh intensity the need of a New Casuistry that it may be hoped the demand will stimulate the supply.

But while our Moral theology or our Manual of Applied Christianity is in preparation, we do well to find out what was done for previous generations—that is, to study the moral teaching and maxims of primitive Christianity and of the Middle Ages, and of the later period. In England we look back to Bishop Sanderson, and to his younger

contemporary, Richard Baxter, whose *Christian Directory* is, I suppose, one of the last attempts at a systematic casuistry made in English.

The *Directory* is too big to reprint in full except at a prohibitive price. But I feel heartily grateful to Mrs. Tawney for the portions of it which she has selected and edited. And, if I may judge by my own experience, I think a great number of ordinary Christians are likely to be very much interested, and occasionally entertained, by them.

If anyone finds the opening section on the duties of servants more full of the spirit of submission than they can easily stomach—if it recalls to their minds Archdeacon Paley's famous *Reasons for Contentment, addressed to the Labouring Part of the British Public*—they will find consolation as they read further.

I will make no attempt to "pick out the plums" from Baxter's pages. I hope that others will find him as interesting as I did. Sometimes—as in the section on usury—we shall wonder to see him apparently so little alive to the magnitude of the changes in the organization of industry amidst the beginnings of which he lived. But it is not mainly because they are satisfying to us that I am recommending these selections to the public: it is rather because they suggest to us the urgent need for a casuistry of a like kind addressed to the Christian conscience of to-day. There is no gap in our religious literature which it will be more difficult to fill, or which in my judgment more urgently needs filling.

CHARLES GORE.

Advent 1924.

INTRODUCTION

THE extracts contained in the following pages are reprinted from the edition of Richard Baxter's *Christian Directory* which appeared in 1673. They have been selected with a view to showing the doctrines with regard to economic ethics which commended themselves to a Puritan divine in the latter part of the seventeenth century. The social and religious teachings of the writer are, however, too closely intertwined to allow of their being disentangled without doing violence to his thought. The course followed, therefore, has been to reproduce *in extenso* the more characteristic chapters, and to leave the reader to pick out for himself the different threads of social theory contained in them.

A Christian Directory or A Summ of Practical Cases of Conscience was written in the years 1664 and 1665, and was first published in 1673. Both in form and in matter it is a remarkable book. Its object, as Baxter explains in the Introduction, is "the resolving of practical cases of conscience, and the reducing of theoretical knowledge into serious Christian Practice." Divided into four parts—Christian Ethics, Economics, Ecclesiastics, and Politics—it has as its purpose to establish the rules of a detailed Christian casuistry which may be sufficiently comprehensive and precise to afford practical guidance for the proper conduct of men in the different relations of life, as lawyer, physician, schoolmaster, or soldier, master and servant, buyer and seller, landlord and tenant, lender and borrower, ruler and subject. It is, in short, a Puritan *Summa theologica* and *Summa moralis* in one, and is perhaps, indeed, the last important English specimen of a famous *genus*. Part of its contents are derived from the treatment of similar questions by previous writers, both before and after the Reformation, and Baxter is conscious of continuing a great tradition. But it is, above all things, realistic, and its method lends plausibility to the suggestion that its materials were accumulated in an attempt to answer practical questions put to its author by members of his congregation. Its aim is not to over-

whelm by authority, but to convince by an appeal to the enlightened common sense of the Christian reader. It does not overlook, therefore, the practical realities of a world in which commerce is carried on by the East India Company in distant markets, trade is dependent upon credit, the iron manufacture is a large-scale industry offering a profitable market to the judicious investor, and the relations of landlords and tenants have been thrown into confusion by the fire of London. Nor does it ignore the moral qualities for the cultivation of which an opportunity is offered by the life of business. It takes as its starting-point the commercial England of the Restoration, and its teaching is designed for "Rome or London, not Fool's Paradise."

Baxter's acceptance of the economic realities of his age makes the content of his teaching the more impressive. Dr. Cunningham has said that "the triumph of Puritanism swept away all traces of any restrictions or guidance in the employment of money," and Weber, in a celebrated essay, has elaborated the thesis that Calvinism was the spiritual parent of the "capitalist spirit." That Puritanism swept away traditional restrictions is true: neither ecclesiastical courts, nor Star-chamber and High Commission, could interfere in matters of business after 1640; nor, in spite of the labours of the Westminster Assembly, did it succeed, except here and there, in erecting a new and stricter discipline to take the place of that which was overthrown. But the idea implied in the attempt to formulate a scheme of economic ethics which had reached its height in the Geneva of Calvin—the idea that every department of life falls beneath the same all-embracing arch of religion—was too deeply rooted to be exorcised merely by political changes or even by the more subversive march of economic development, and the guidance given by the spoken and the written word was not diminished but elaborated. The attacks of Puritan divines, such as Capel and Moore, on enclosing were one example of it. Ames' *de Conscientia*, a manual of Christian conduct which became a standard

authority quoted again and again by subsequent writers, was another. Ames had accepted, as was in his day inevitable, the impossibility of distinguishing between interest on capital invested in a business and interest on capital invested in land, and, like Calvin, he denied that interest is forbidden by Scripture or natural reason. But, like Calvin, he surrounded his indulgence with qualifications, required that no interest should be charged on loans to the needy, and described as the ideal investment for Christians one in which the lender shared risks with the borrower and demanded only "a fair share of the profits, according to the degree in which God has blessed him by whom the money is used." His teaching with regard to prices was not less conservative. "To wish to buy cheap and sell dear is common (as St. Augustine observes), but it is a common vice." Men may not sell their wares above the maximum fixed by public authority, though, since its object is to protect the buyer, they may sell below it. When there is no legal maximum, they must follow the market price and "the judgment of prudent and good men." They must not take advantage of the necessities of individual buyers, must not over-praise their wares, must not sell them dearer merely because they have cost them much to acquire. Seven years after the appearance of the *Christian Directory*, Bunyan published the *Life and Death of Mr. Badman*. The sin of extortion "most commonly committed by men of trade, who without all conscience, when they have an advantage, will make a prey of their neighbours," the covetousness of "hucksters, that buy up the poor man's victual wholesale and sell it to him again for unreasonable gains," the avarice of usurers, who watch "till the poor fall into their mouths," and "of those vile wretches called pawnbrokers that lend money and goods to poor people . . . and will make by one trick or another the interest of what they so lend to amount to thirty or forty, yea sometimes fifty, pounds by the year"—Christian and Christiana had watched Mr. Badman thus bite and pinch the poor in

his shop at Bedford, before they took staff and scrip for their journey to a more distant city. They had remembered that the Lord himself will plead the cause of the afflicted against them that oppress them, and had reflected (pondering on the dealings of Ephron the son of Zoher with Ormon the Jebusite) that there is "wickedness, as in selling too dear, so in buying too cheap." Brother Berthold of Regensburg had said the same four centuries before, in his racy sermons in Germany. The emergence of the idea that "business is business," and that the world of commercial transactions is a closed compartment with laws of its own, if more ancient than is often supposed, did not win so painless a triumph as is sometimes suggested. Puritan, as well as Catholic, accepted without demur the view which set all human interests and activities within the compass of religion. Puritans, as well as Catholics, essayed the formidable task of formulating a Christian casuistry of economic conduct.

Of such attempts Baxter's *Christian Directory* is the most elaborate, as it is almost the latest, example. Its particular injunctions are naturally determined by the economic environment of the period in which it was written. It contains nothing about industrial organization, and next to nothing on the subject of wages. Its conceptions of the relation between employer and employed are patriarchal, and Weber's remark that Baxter comes singularly near identifying the interests of the former with those of God are not unjustified.¹ In reality, of course, the observations with regard to masters and servants, with which the following extracts begin, were designed for an age of small-scale industry and agriculture, in which personal relations had not yet been superseded by the cash *nexus*, and the small master or peasant farmer was but little removed in economic status from the half-dozen journeymen or labourers whom he employed. In spite of the outburst of capitalist enterprise in commerce and

¹ Max Weber, *Die Protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus*, p. 199 (in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*).

finance which followed the Restoration, the permanent wage-earning class, outside the large cities and certain exceptional industries such as textiles, iron, and coal, was still small. In most parts of the country the typical figure continued to be the tradesman, the small master, or the peasant farmer. In such circumstances, not wages, but prices, interest, and land tenure were the burning problems. The consumer is at the mercy of the local miller or baker, whose monopoly, in an age of intolerably primitive communications, no competitor can break. The craftsman must buy raw materials on credit and get advances before his wares are sold. The young tradesman must scrape together a little capital before he can set up shop. The peasant must borrow money when the season is bad, or merely to finance the interval between sowing and harvest : often he must sell his crops before they are cut to the local dealer and pay through the nose for accommodation. The bugbear of the age is, in short, not the capitalist employer, who, in most industries, is still in his infancy, but the tyranny of the grasping landlord, middleman, or moneylender.

A casuistry of economic conduct obviously implies that economic relations are to be regarded merely as one department of human behaviour, not as the almost automatic reactions of an impersonal mechanism to which ethical judgments are irrelevant. Writing in an age when Political Arithmetic, profoundly influenced by the contemporary progress of mathematics and physics, was beginning its triumphant career as a specialism, Baxter naturally had to meet the objection that "trade was one thing and religion another," and that the attempt to judge economic transactions by moral criteria was the resuscitation of an exploded superstition. In reply to the convenient dualism which exonerates the individual by representing his actions as the result of uncontrollable forces, the Christian, he insists, is committed by his Faith to the acceptance of certain ethical standards, and these standards are as obligatory in the sphere of economic transactions as in any

other province of human activity. To the conventional argument that religion has nothing to do with business—that “each man will get as much as he can and *caveat emptor* is the only security”—he answers bluntly that this way of dealing does not hold good among Christians. Whatever the laxity of the law, they are bound to consider first the Golden Rule and the public good.

Naturally, therefore, the Christian is debarred from making money at the expense of other persons. “It is not lawful to take up or keep up any oppressing monopoly or trade which tendeth to enrich you by the loss of the Commonwealth or many.” But he must not only eschew the obvious extortion practised by the monopolist, the engrosser, the organizer of a corner or a combine. He must carry on his business in the spirit of one who is conducting a public service: he must order it for the advantage of his neighbour as much as (and, if his neighbour be poor, more than) for his own. He must not desire “to get another’s goods or labour for less than it is worth.” He must not secure a good price for his wares “by extortion working upon men’s ignorance, error, or necessity.” If he finds a buyer who is willing to give more than the price fixed by law or by common estimation, he must not take advantage of his necessity, but “be glad that [he] can pleasure him on fair, equal, and honest terms”; for “it is a false rule of them that think a commodity is worth so much as any one will give.” If the seller foresees that in the future prices are likely to fall, he must not make a profit out of his neighbour’s ignorance, but must tell him so. If he foresees that they will rise, he may hold his wares back, but only—a somewhat embarrassing exception—“if it be not to the hurt of the Commonwealth, or unless . . . keeping it in be the cause of the dearth, and . . . bringing it forth would help to prevent it.”

As the descendant of a family of yeomen, Baxter naturally had strong views as to the ethics of land-owning. Significantly enough, he deals with them under the general

rubric of "cases of oppression, especially of tenants," oppression being defined as "the injuring of inferiors who are unable to resist or right themselves." "Unmerciful landlords are the common and sore oppressors of the countrymen. If a few men can but get enough money to purchase all the land in a county, they think that they may do with their own as they list, and set such hard bargains to their tenants, that they are all but as their servants An oppressor is an Anti-Christ and an Anti-God not only the agent of the Devil, but his image." As in his discussion of prices, the gist of Baxter's analysis of the cases of conscience which arise in the relations of landlord and tenant is that the Christian may not secure pecuniary gain for himself at the expense of his neighbour. Except in unusual circumstances, a landlord must not let his land at the full competitive rent which it would fetch in the market: "Ordinarily the common sort of tenants in England should have so much abated of the fullest worth that they may comfortably live upon it and follow their labours with cheerfulness of mind and liberty to serve God in their families, and to mind the matters of their salvation, and not to be necessitated to such toil and care and pinching want, as shall make them liker slaves than free men." He must not improve [*i.e.* enclose] his land without considering the effect on his tenants, or evict them without compensation, or cause rural depopulation; nor must an incoming tenant take a holding over the sitting tenant's head by "offering a greater rent than he hath power to give or that the landlord hath just cause to require him." The Christian, in short, while eschewing "causeless, perplexing, melancholy scruples, which would stop a man in the course of his duty," must so manage his business as to "avoid sin rather than loss and seek first to keep his conscience in peace."

The first impression made by a glance at such teaching is how little, in spite of the immense changes of the preceding two centuries, the traditional presentation of the

social ethics of the Christian Faith had changed. Bunyan's Mr. Badman, who ground the poor with usury and high prices, was guilty of the same economic iniquities as had been denounced by preacher after preacher in the Middle Ages. Ames and Baxter, except for the interpretation of usury which they borrowed from Calvin, reproduced in essence the doctrines of Aquinas. But the assumption on which this scheme of Christian casuistry rested were at once more venerable and more vital than the particular conclusions which they deduced from it. That economic transactions are to be judged by a rule of right derived ultimately from religion, and that the exposition of the moral standards by which they are to be tried is as much the function of the Church as is teaching with regard to any other aspect of human conduct—these conceptions had been the foundation on which not only mediæval schoolmen, but every section of the Reformers had based their teaching. Their virtual disappearance from the religious philosophy of the eighteenth century had effects which were little less than revolutionary. It was to make possible the treatment of questions of economic morality and social policy in a spirit which, while it had conspicuous virtues of its own, owed little directly to any influence springing from Christian thought.



NOTE.

The frontispiece portrait of Richard Baxter (1615-91) and the allegorical title page are reproduced from the first edition of "A Christian Directory" (1673).



Advertisements.

READERS.



THE book is so big that I must make no longer Preface, than to give you this necessary short account: 1, Of the Quality; 2, And the Reasons of this Work.

1. The *matter* you will see in the Contents: As *Amesius* his Cases of Conscience are to his *Medulla*, the second and Practical part of Theologie, so is this to a *Methodus Theologiæ* which I have not yet published. And 1. As to the *Method* of this, it is partly *natural*, but *principally* Moral, that is, partly suitable to the real order of the matter, but chiefly of *usefulness*, *secundum ordinem Intentionis*, where our reasons of each location are fetcht from the End. Therefore unless I might be tedious in opening my reasons *à fine* for the order of every particular, I know not how to give you full satisfaction. But in this Practical part I am the less solicitous about the *Accurateness of method*, because it more belongeth to the *former Part* (the Theory) where I do it as well as I am able.

2. This Book was written in 1664 and 1665 (except the Ecclesiastick Cases of Conscience, and a few sheets since added): And since the Writing of it, some invitations drew me to publish, my Reasons of the Christian Religion, my Life of Faith, and Directions for weak Christians: by which the work of the two first Chapters here is fullier done: And therefore I was inclined here to leave them out.

But for the use of such Families as may have this without the other, I forbore to dismember it.

3. But there is a great disproportion between the several parts of the Book. 1. The first Part is largest, because I thought that the Heart must be kept with greatest diligence, and that if the Tree be good the fruit will be good ; and I remember *Paul's* counsel, *I. Tim.* iv. 16. Take heed to thy self and unto thy Doctrine : Continue in them : for in doing this thou shalt both save thy self and them that hear thee. Nothing is well done by him that beginneth not at home : As the man is, so is his strength, and work. 2. The two first Chapters are too course and tedious for those of the higher form (who may pass them over). But the rest must be spoken to ; To whom that is unprofitable which is most suitable and pleasant to more exercised and accurate wits. The *Grand Directions* are but the explication of the essentials of Christianity, or of the Baptismal Covenant, even of our Relation-duties to God the Father, Son (in several parts of his Relation) and of the Holy Ghost. The doctrine of *Temptations* is handled with brevity, because they are so numerous ; lest a due amplification should have swelled the Book too much (when a small part of their number maketh up so much of Mr. *John Downname's* great and excellent Treatise called *The Christian Welfare*). The great radical sins are handled more largely than seemeth proportionable to the rest, because all die when they are dead. And I am large about *Redeeming Time*, because therein the sum of a holy obedient life is included.

4. If any say, *Why call you that a sum of practical theologie* which is but the *Directing part*, and leaveth out the explication, reasons, various uses, marks, motives, etc. ?

I answer, 1. Had I intended Sermonwise to say all that might well be said on each subject, it would have made many volumes as big as this. 2. Where I thought them needful, the *explication* of each duty and sin is added, with marks, contraries, counterfeits, motives, etc. And *Uses* are easily added by an ordinary reader, without my naming them.

5. I do especially desire you to observe, that the resolving of *practical Cases of Conscience*, and the reducing of Theoretical knowledge into *serious Christian Practice* and promoting a *skilful facility* in the faithful exercise of universal obedience, and holiness of heart and life, is the great work of this Treatise ; And that where I thought it needful the Cases are reduced to express Questions and Answers : But had I done so by all, many such volumes would have been too little. And therefore I thought the *Directing way* most *brief* and *fit* for *Christian practice* : For if you mark them, you will find few *Directions* in the book, which may not pass for the answer of an (implied) question or case of conscience, And when I have given you the *Answer* in a *Direction*, an ingenious reader can tell what *question* it is that is answered ; And so, many hundred Cases are here resolved, especially in the two first parts, which are not interrogatively named.

6. And I must do my self the right as to notifie to the Reader, that this Treatise was written when I was (for not-subscribing, Declaring, etc.) forbidden by the Law to Preach, and when I had been long separated far from my Library and from all books, saving an inconsiderable parcel which wandred with me, where I went : By which means this Book hath two defects : 1. It hath no Cases of Conscience but what my bare *memory* brought to hand :

And Cases are so innumerable, that it is far harder, methinks, to remember them, than to answer them : whereby it came to pass that some of the Ecclesiastical Cases are put out of their proper place, because I could not seasonably remember them. For I had no one Casuist but *Amesius* with me. But (after about twelve years' separation) having received my Library, I find that the very sight of *Sayrus, Fragoso, Roderiquez, Tolet, etc.* might have helpt my memory to a greater number : But perhaps these will be enough for those that I intend them for.

2. And by the same cause the Margin is unfurnished of such citations as are accounted an Ornament, and in some cases are very useful. The scraps inserted out of my few trivial books at hand being so mean, as that I am well content (except about Monarchy, *Par.* 4) that the reader pass them by as not worthy of his notice.

And it's like that the absence of books, will appear to the reader's loss in the *materials* of the Treatise : But I shall have this advantage by it that he will not accuse me as a plagiarist ; And it may be some little advantage to *him*, that he hath no transcript of any man's books, which he had before, but the product of some *experience*, with a naked unbiassed perception of the Matter or Things themselves.

7. Note also that the *third* and *fourth* parts are very much defective of what they should contain, about the *Power* and *Government* of God's officers in *Church* and *State* ; of which no readers will expect a reason but strangers, whose expectations I may not satisfy. But as I must profess that I hope nothing here hath proceeded, from *Disloyalty*, or *disrespect* to *Authority, Government, Unity, Concord, Peace*, or *Order*, or from any opposition

to *Faith, Piety, Love, or Justice* ; so if unknown to me, there be any thing found here, that is contrary or injurious to anyone of these, I do hereby renounce it, and desire it may be taken as *non-scriptum*.

II. The *Ends* and *Uses* for which I wrote this book are these : 1. That when I could not Preach the Gospel as I would, I might do it as I could. 2. That three sorts might have the benefit as followeth.

1. That the younger and more unfurnished, and unexperienced sort of Ministers, might have a promptuary at hand, for Practical Resolutions and Directions on the subjects that they have need to deal in. And though *Sayrus* and *Fragoso* have done well, I would not have us under a necessity, of going to the Romanists for our ordinary supplies : Long have our Divines been wishing for some fuller Casuistical Tractate : *Perkins* began well. Bishop *Sanderson* hath done excellently *de Juramento* : *Amesius* hath exceeded all, though briefly : Mr. *David Dickson* hath put more of our English Cases about the state of Sanctification, into Latine, than ever was done before him. Bishop *Jer. Taylor* hath in two folios but *begun* the copious performance of the work. And still men are calling for more, which I have attempted : Hoping that others will come after and do better than we all.

If any call it my Pride to think that any Ministers or *Students* are so raw as to need anything that *I* can add to them, let him but pardon me for saying that such demure pleadings for a feigned Humility, shall not draw me to a confederacy with *Blindness, Hypocrisie* and *Sloth*, and *I* will pardon him for his charge of Pride.

It is long ago since many forreign Divines subscribed a request, that the English would give them in Latine a

sum of our Practical Theologie ; which Mr. *Dury* sent over, and twelve great Divines of ours wrote to Bishop *Usher* (as Dr. *Bernard* tells you in his Life) to draw them up a form or Method : But it was never done among them all ; And it's said that Bishop *Downname* at last undertaking it, he dyed in the attempt. Had this been done, it's like my labour might have been spared. But being undone, I have thus made this Essay. But *I* have been necessitated to leave out much (about Conversion, Mortification, Self-denial, Self-acquaintance, Faith, Justification, Judgement, Glory, etc.) because *I* had written of them all before.

II. And I thought it not unuseful to the more Judicious Masters of Families, who may choose and read such parcels to their Families, as at any time the case requireth. And indeed I began it rudely, with an Intention of that *Plainness* and *Brevity* which *Families* require : But finding that it swelled to a *bigger* bulk than I intended, I was fain to write my *Life of Faith*, as a Breviate and Substitute, for the *Families* and *persons* that cannot have and use so large a volume : (presupposing my Directions for sound Conversion, for weak Christians, and for *peace* of Conscience, printed long ago.)

III. And to *private Christians* I thought it not in vain, to have at hand so Universal a *Directory* and *Resolution* of *Doubts* ; not expecting that they remember all, but may on every occasion, turn to such particulars as they most need.

But I must expect to be assaulted with these Objections. (And it is not only prophane deriders and malignant enemies, that are used by Satan to vilifie and oppose our service of God.)

Object I. : *You have written too many Books already :*

Who do you think hath so little to do as to read them all? Is it not Pride and self-conceitedness to think that your scriblings are worthy to be read? and that the world hath need of so much of your instructions? as if there were no wise men but you? You have given offence already by your writings : you should write less and Preach more.

Answ. 1 : I have seldome, if ever, in all my Ministry, omitted one Sermon for all my Writings : I was not able to Live in *London* nor ride abroad ; But through God's mercy I seldom omitted any opportunities at home.

2. And if I Preach the same Doctrine that I write, why should not men be as angry with me for *preaching* it, as for *writing* it. But if it be *good* and *true*, why is it not as good Preach by the Press to many thousands, and for many years after I am dead, as to Preach to a Parlour full for a few hours ? Or why is not *both* as good as one ?

3. I will not take the Reverend Objector to be ignorant that Writing, and publishing the Word of God by it, is *preaching* it, and the most publick preaching : And hath the example of the Apostles and Evangelists as well as speaking : And one is no more appropriate to them than the other : though the *Extraordinaries* of both be proper to them. And do you not perceive what self-condemning contradiction it is, at the same time to cry out against those that dissuade you from preaching, or hinder you, and tell you it is needless, and you are proud to think that the world needeth your preaching, and yet your selves to say the very same against your brethren preaching by the Press. I know an ignorant illiterate Sectary might say. *Writing is no preaching, and you are called to preach and not to write ;* But I must reverence you more than to suppose you so absurd. Other men forbid *you* but *less* publick preaching,

and you reproach me for *more publick* Preaching : that's the difference. How hard is it to know what Spirit we are of ? Did you think that you had been Patrons of idleness, and Silencers of Ministers, while you declaim so much against it ? Your pretence that you would have me preach more is feigned. Are you sure that you preach oftener than I do ? When I perswaded Ministers heretofore to Catechize and instruct all their Parishes personally, family by family, you said it was more toil than was our duty : and now *you are* against much Writing too ; and yet would be thought laborious Ministers.

And as to the *number* and length of my Writings, it is my own labour that maketh them so, and my own great trouble, that the world cannot be sufficiently instructed and edified in fewer words. But 1. Would not all your Sermons set together be as long ? And why is not much and long preaching blameable, if long Writings be ? 2. Are not the works of *Augustine* and *Chrysostome*, much longer ? Who yet hath reproached *Aquinas* or *Suarez*, *Calvin* or *Zanchy*, etc., for the number and greatness of the Volumes they have written ? Why do you contradict your selves by affecting great Libraries ? 3. When did I ever perswade any one of you, to buy or read any Book of mine ? What harm will they do those that let them alone ? Or what harm can it do you for other men to read them ? Let them be to you as if they had never been written, and it will be nothing to you how many they are. And if all others take not you for their Tutors to choose for them the Books that they must read, that is not my doing, but their own. If they err in taking themselves to be fitter Judges than you, what tendeth most to their own Edification, why do you not teach them better ? Either it is

God's Truth, or *Error* which I write. If *Error*, Why doth no one of you shew so much Charity, as by *Word* or *Writing* to instruct me better, nor evince it to my face, but do all to others by backbiting? If *Truth*, What harm will it do? If men had not leisure to read our Writings, the Booksellers would silence us, and save you the labour: For none would Print them. 5. But who can please all men? Whilest a few of you cry out of too much, what if twenty or an hundred for one be yet for more? How shall I know whether you or they be the wiser and the better men?

Readers, you see on what terms we must do the work of God. Our slothful flesh is backward, and weary of so much labour: Malignant enemies of piety are against it all. Some slothful brethren think it necessary to cloak their fleshly ease, by vilifying the diligence of others. Many Sects whom we oppose, think it the interest of their cause (which they call God's cause) to make all that's said against them seem vain, contemptible and odious; which because they cannot do by Confutation, they'll do by backbiting and confident chat. And one or two Reverend Brethren, have, by the wisdom described exactly, *James* iii. 15, 16, arrived at the liberty of backbiting and Magisterial sentencing the works of others (which they confess they never read), that their Reputation of being most Learned, Orthodox, Worthy Divines, may keep the Chair at easier rates, than the wasting of their flesh in unwearied labours to know the truth, and communicate it to the world. And some are angry, who are forward to write, that the Booksellers and Readers silence not others as well as them.

Object II.: *Your Writings differing from the common judgement have already caused offence to the godly.*

Answ. 1 : To the Godly that were of a contrary opinion only ; Sores that will not be healed, use to be exasperated by the Medicine. 2. It was none but healing Pacificatory Writings, that have caused that offence. 3. Have not those *dissenters Writings more offended the Godly that were against them?* They have but one trick, to honour their denial, which more dishonoureth it, even by unsanctifying those that are not of their minds. 4. If God bless me with opportunity and help, I will offend such men much more, by endeavouring further than ever I have done, the quenching of that fire which they are still blowing up, and detecting the folly and mischief of those Logomachies by which they militate against Love and Concord, and enflame and tear the Church of God. And let them know that I am about it. But some *Pastors* as well as *people* have the weakness to think that all our *Preachings* and *Writings* must be brought under their *dominion*, and to their barr, by the bare saying that *We offend the Godly*, that is, those of their opinion, which they falsly call by the name of *scandal*. 5. But I think they will find little Controversie to offend them in this Book.

Object III. : *You should take more leisure, and take other men's judgement of your Writings before you thrust them out so hastily.*

Answ. 1 : I have but a little while to live, and therefore must work while it is day. Time *will* not stay. 2. I do shew them to those that *I* take to be most judicious, and never refused any man's *censure* ; But it is not many that have leisure to do me so great a kindness. But that *I* commit them not to the perusal of every Objector, is a fault uncurable, by one that never had an *Amanuensis*, and hath but one Copy usually. 3. And if *I* could do it, how

should *I* be sure that they would not differ as much among themselves, as they do from me? And my Writings would be like the Picture which the great Painter exposed to the censure of every passenger, and made it ridiculous to all, when he altered all that every one advised him to alter. And, to tell you the truth, *I* was never yet blamed by one side as not sufficiently pleasing them, but *I* was blamed also by the contrary side, for coming so near them : And *I* had not wit enough to know which party of the accusers was the wiser. And therefore am resolved to study to please God and Conscience, and to take *man-pleasing*, when inconsistent, for an *impossible* and *unprofitable* work, and to cease from man whose breath is in his Nostrils, whose thoughts all perish as he passeth off the Judicature of his Stage, to the Judicature of God.

Object IV. : *Your Ecclesiastical Cases are dangerously reconciling, tending to abate mens zeal against Error.*

Answ. : The world hath long enough escaped the danger of *Peace* and *Reconciliation* : It had been well if they had as long escaped the danger of your Conceited-Orthodox strife, which hath brought in confusion and all evil works : I take it to be a Zeal effectively against *Love*, and against *Unity*, and against *Christ*, which with the Preachers of extreams, goeth under the name of a Zeal against *Error*, and for *Truth*.

Object V. : *Are all these Numerous Directions to be found in Scripture? Shew us them in Scripture, or you trouble the Church with your own inventions.*

Answ. 1 : Are all your Sermons, in the Scripture? And all the good Books of your Library in the Scripture? 2. Will you have none but *Readers* in the Church, and put down *Preachers*? Sure it is the *Reader* that delivereth

all and only the Scripture. 3. Are we not *Men before* we are *Christians*? And is not the *Light* and *Law* of *Nature*, *Divine*? And was the Scripture written to be instead of *Reason*, or of a *Logick*, or other subservient Sciences? Or must they not all be *sanctified* and used for Divinity? 4. But I think that as all good Commentaries and Sermons, and Systems of Theology are in Scripture, so is the Directory here given, and is proved by the evidence of the very thing discoursed of, or by the plainest Texts.

Object VI.: *You confound your Reader by Curiosity of distinctions.*

Answ. 1: If they are *vain* or *false*, shame them by detecting it, or you shame your selves by blaming them, when you cannot shew the error. Expose not your selves to laughter by *avoiding just distinction to escape confusion*; that is, avoiding knowledge to escape Ignorance, or Light to escape darkness. 2. It is *ambiguity* and *confusion* that *breedeth* and feedeth almost all our pernicious Controversies: And even those that bring in error by vain distinction, must be confuted by better distinguishers, and not by ignorant Confounders. I will believe the Holy Ghost, *II. Tim.* ii. 14, 15, 16, that *Logomachie* is the plague by which the *hearers are subverted*, and *ungodliness increased*; and that *Orthotomie* or *right dividing the Word of Truth is the Cure*. And *Heb.* v. 15. *Discerning* both good and evil, is the work of long and well exercised senses.

Object VII.: *Is this your reducing our faith to the primitive simplicity, and to the Creed? What a toilsome task do you make Religion by overdoing? Is any man able to remember all these numberless Directions:*

Answ. 1: I pray mistake not all these for Articles of Faith. I am more zealous than ever I was for the reduction

of the Christian faith to the primitive simplicity; and more confident that the Church will never have Peace and Concord, till it be so done, as to the test of men's *Faith* and *Communion*. But he that will have no Books but his Creed and Bible, may follow that Sectary, who when he had burnt all his other Books as *humane inventions*, at last burnt the Bible, when he grew Learned enough to understand, that the translation of that was *Humane too*.

2. If men think not all the Tools in their Shops, and all the Furniture of their Houses, or the number of their Sheep, or Cattle, or Lands, nor the number of Truths received by a Learning intellect, etc., to be a trouble and toil, why should they think so of the number of Helps to facilitate the practice of their duty? If all the Books in your Libraries make your Studies or Religion toilsome, why do you keep them? and do not come to the Vulgar Religion, that would hear no more but, *Think well, speak well, and do well*, or, *Love God and your neighbour, and do as you would be done by*. He that doth this truly, shall be saved: But there goeth more to the building of a house, than to say, *Lay the foundation, and raise the superstructure*: Universals exist not but in individuals; and the whole consisteth of all the *parts*.

3. It is not expected that any man *remember* all these Directions. Therefore I wrote them, because *men cannot remember them*, that they may upon every necessary occasion, go to that which they have present use for, and cannot otherwise remember.

In summ, to my quarrelsome Brethren I have two requests: 1. That instead of their unconscionable, and yet unreformed custome of backbiting, they would tell me to my face of my offences by convincing evidence, and

not tempt the hearers to think them envious : and 2. That what I *do amiss, they would do better* : and not be such as will neither laboriously serve the Church themselves, nor suffer others : and that they will not be guilty of *Idleness themselves*, nor tempt me to be a *slothful servant*, who have so little time to spend : For I dare not stand before God under that guilt : And that they will not joyn with the enemies and resisters of the publication of the Word of God.

And to the Readers my request is, 1. That what ever for Quantity or Quality in this Book is an impediment to their regular universal obedience, and to a truly holy life, they would neglect and cast away : 2. But that which is truly *Instructing* and *Helpful*, they would *Digest* and *Practice* : And I encourage them by my testimony, that by long experience I am assured, that this PRACTICAL RELIGION will afford both to *Church, State* and *Conscience*, more certain and more solid Peace, than contending Disputers, with all their pretences of Orthodoxness and Zeal against Errors for the Truth, will ever bring, or did ever attain to.

I crave your pardon for this long Apology : It is an Age where the Objections are not feigned, and where our greatest and most costly services of God, are charged on us as our greatest sins ; and where at once I am accused of Conscience for doing no more, and of men for doing so much : Being really

A most unworthy Servant of so good a Master.

RICHARD BAXTER.





From
CHRISTIAN OECONOMICKS

I.—THE DUTIES OF SERVANTS TO THEIR
MASTERS. [Chap. xiii.]

IF Servants would have comfortable lives, they must approve themselves and their service unto God, because from him they must have their comforts : which may be done by following these Directions.

DIRECTION 1.—*Reverence the providence of God which calleth you to a servant's life, and murmur not at your labour, or your low condition ; but know your mercies, and be thankful for them.* Though perhaps you have more labour than your Masters, yet have you not less *care* than they ? Most servants may have quieter lives, if it were not for their unthankful discontented hearts. You are not troubled with the care of providing your Landlord's rent, or meat, and drink, and wages for your servants, nor with the wants and desires of Wives and children, nor with the faults and naughtiness of such as you must use or trust ; nor with the losses and crosses which your Masters are lyable to. Be thankful to God, who for a little bodily labour doth free you from the burden of all these cares.

DIRECTION 2.—*Take your condition as chosen for you by God, and take your selves as his servants, and your work as his, and do all as to the Lord, and not only for man ; and expect from God your chief reward.* You will be else but *eye-servants* and *hypocrites*, if the fear of God do not awe your consciences. And if you were the best servants to

your Masters in the world, and did not all in obedience to God, it were but a low unprofitable service : If you believe that there is an infinite distance between *God and man*, you may conceive what a difference there is between *serving God and man* : Your *wages* is all your reward from man : but eternal life is God's reward : And the very same work and labour which one man hath but his year's wages for, another hath everlasting life for (though not of *Merit*, yet of the bounty of our Lord).—*Rom. vi. 23*. Because he doth it in love and obedience to that God who hath promised this reward.—*Col. iii. 22, 23, 24, 25*. *Servants obey in all things your Masters according to the flesh : not with eye-service as men-pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing God : And whatsoever thing ye do, do it heartily as to the Lord, and not unto men : Knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance, for ye serve the Lord Christ : But he that doth wrong, shall receive for the wrong which he hath done : and there is no respect of persons*. The like is in *Ephes. vi. 5, 6, 7, 8*. So much doth God respect the heart, that the very same action hath such different successes and rewards, as it is done to different ends, and from different principles : your lowest service may be thus sanctified and acceptable to God.

DIRECTION 3.—*Be conscionable and faithful in performing all the labour and duty of a servant*. Neglect not such business as you are to do : nor do it not lazily, and deceitfully, and by the halves. As it is thievery or deceit for a man in the Market to sell another the whole of his commodity, and when he hath done, to keep back and defraud him of a part : So is it no less for a servant that selleth his time and labour to another, to defraud him of part of that time and service which you sold him. Think not therefore

that it is no sin, to idle away an hour which is not your own, or to slubber over the work which you undertake to do. *Slothfulness* and *unconscionableness* make servants *deceitful* : Such care not how they do their work, if they can but make their Masters *believe* that it is done well : They are *hypocrites* in their service, that take more care to *seem painful trusty* servants, than to *be so* ; and to *hide* their faults and slothfulness than to avoid them. As if it were as easie to hide them also from God, who hath resolved to punish all the wrong they do their Masters—*Col. iii. 25*. If they can but loyter and take their ease and their Master *know it not*, they are never troubled at it as a sin against God : Laziness and fleshly mindedness doth so blind them, that they think it is no sin to take as much ease as they can, so they carry it fair and smoothly with their Masters, and to slubber over their business anyhow, so that it will but serve the turn : Whereas if their Masters should keep back any of their wages, or put more work upon them than is meet, they would easily be persuaded that *this* were a sin. If your labour be such as would hurt your health (as by wet or cold, etc.), you may foresee it, and avoid it in your choice of places : but if it be only the *Labour* that you grudge at, it is a sign of a fleshly and unfaithful person ; as long as it is not excessive to wrong your health, nor hurt your souls, by denying your leisure for your duty to God. The Lord himself commandeth you to *be obedient in singleness of heart, as unto Christ, not as eye-servants ; and whatever you do, to do it heartily, knowing that what ever good thing any man doth, the same shall he receive of the Lord.*—*Eph. vi. 5, 6, 8 ; Col. iii. 23*.

DIRECTION 4.—*Be more careful about your duty to your Masters, than about their duty or carriage to you. Be much*

more careful *what to do*, than *what to receive* ; and to be *good servants*, than to be *used* as good servants : Not but you may modestly expect your due, and to be used as servants should be used ; but *your Duty* is much *more* to be regarded : For if your Master wrong you, that is *his sin*, and none of yours : God will not be offended with you for *another's* faults, but for your own ; nor for *being wronged*, but for *doing wrong*. And it's better suffer the greatest wrong, than offend God by committing the smallest sin.

DIRECTION 5.—*Be true and faithful in all that is committed to your trust : Dispose not of any thing that is your Master's without his consent.* Though you may think it never so reasonable, or well done, yet remember that it is none of your own ; If you would relieve the poor, or please a fellow-servant, or do a kindness to a neighbour, do it of *your own*, and not of *another's*, unless you have his allowance. Be as thrifty for your Masters, as you would be for your selves. Waste no more of his goods, than you would do if it were your own. Say not as false servants do, my Master is rich enough, and it will do him no harm, and therefore we may make bold, and not be so sparing and niggardly. The question is not, What *he* should do, but what *you* should do. If you take any of your rich neighbour's goods or money, to give to the poor, you may be hanged as Thieves, as well as if you stole it for your selves. To take any thing of another's against his will, is to rob or steal : Let the *value* be never so small, if it be but the worth of a penny, that you steal or defraud another of, the *sin* is not small : Nay, it aggravateth the sin that you will presume to break God's Law for such a trifle, and venture your soul for so small a thing : Though it be taken

from one that may never so well spare it, that's no excuse to you ; it is none of yours. Specially let those servants think of this, that are trusted with buying and selling or with provisions. If you defraud your Masters because you can conceal it ; believe it, God that knoweth it will reveal it : And if you *repent* of it, you must make restitution of all that ever you thus rob'd them of, if you have anything to do it with : And if you *have nothing*, you must with sorrow and shame confess it to them, and ask forgiveness : But if you *Repent* not, you must pay dearer for it in Hell than this comes to. Object : *But did not the Lord commend the unjust Steward ?—Luke xvi. 8.* Answ. Yes, for his wit in providing for himself, but not for his *unjustness*. He only teacheth you there, that if the wicked worldlings have wit to provide for this life, much more should you have the wit to make provision for the life to come. It is *faithfulness* that is a Steward's duty.—*I. Cor. iv. 2.*

DIRECTION 6.—*Honour your Masters, and behave your selves towards them with that respect and reverence as your place requireth.* Behave not your selves rudely or contemptuously towards them, in word or deed. Be not so proud as to disdain to keep the distance and reverence which is due. You should scorn to be *servants*, if you scorn to *behave* your selves as servants. Give them not sawcy, provoking or contemptuous language : not wording it out with them in bold contending, and justifying your selves when your faults are reprehended. Mark the Apostle's words, *Tit. ii. 9, 10 : Exhort servants to be obedient to their own Masters, and to please them well in all things, not answering again : not purloining, but shewing all good fidelity, that they may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things.* And *I. Tim. vi. 1, 2, 3, 4 : Let as many servants as are under*

the yoke count their own Masters worthy of all honour (yea, though they were Infidels or poor) that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed. (For wicked men will say, Is this your Religion? when servants professing Religion are disobedient, unreverent, and unfaithful.) And they that have believing Masters, let them not despise them because they are brethren, but rather do them service because they are faithful and beloved partakers of the benefit. These things teach and exhort : if any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words—he is proud, knowing nothing.

DIRECTION 7.—*Go not unwillingly or murmuringly about your business, but take it as your delight.* An unwilling mind doth lose God's reward, and man's acceptance. Grudging and unwillingness maketh your work of little value, be it never so well done. *Do service heartily, and with good will as to the Lord.*—*Eph. vi. 7 ; Col. iii. 23.*

DIRECTION 8.—*Obey your Masters in all things* (which God forbiddeth not, and which their place enableth them to command you) : *and set not your own conceits and wills against their commands.* It is not obedience, if you will do no more of their commands, than what agreeth with your own opinions and wills. What if you think another way best, or another work best, or another time best? Are you to govern or obey? If the work be not yours but another's, let his will and not yours be fulfilled, and do his service in his own way. It is God's command, *Col. iii. 22 : Servants obey your Masters in all things.*

DIRECTION 9.—*Reveal not any of the secrets of your Master's, or of the family.* Talk not to others of what is said or done at home : Be not over familiar at other men's houses, where you may be tempted to talk of your Master's

businesses : Many words may have mischievous effects, which were well intended. That servant is unfit for a wise man's family, that hath some familiar abroad, to whom he must tell all that he heareth or seeth at home : For his *familiar* hath *another familiar*, and so a man shall be betrayed by those of his own household.—*Mich.* vii. 6, as Christ by *Judas*.

DIRECTION 10.—*Grudge not at the meanness of the provisions of the family.* If you have not that which is needful to your *health*, remove to another place as soon as you can, without reproaching the place where you are. But if you have your *daily bread*, that is, your *necessary wholesome food*, how course soever, your murmuring for want of more delicious fare, is but your shame, and sheweth that your *hearts* are sunk into your bellies, and that you are fleshly minded persons.

DIRECTION 11.—*Pray daily for a blessing on your labours and on the family, both privately and with the rest.* A praying servant may prevail with God, for more than all their labour cometh to. And their labours are liker to be blessed, than the labours of a prayerless, ungodly person. You are not worthy to partake of the *mercies* of the family, if you will not joyn in prayers for those mercies.

DIRECTION 12.—*Willingly submit to the teaching and government of your masters about the right worshipping of God, and for the good of your own souls.* Bless God if you live with Religious Masters that will instruct you and Catechize you, and pray with you, and restrain you from breaking the Lord's day, and other sins, and will examine you of your profiting, and watch over your souls, and sharply rebuke you when you do that which is evil. Be glad of their instructions, and murmur not at them, as ignorant

ungodly servants do. These few Directions carefully followed will make your service better to you, than Lordships and Kingdoms are to the ungodly.



II.—THE DUTIES OF MASTERS TOWARDS THEIR SERVANTS. [Chap. xiv.]

IF you would have *good servants* see that you be *good* masters, and do your *own duty*, and then either your servants will do *theirs*, or else all their failings shall turn to your greater good.

DIRECTION 1.—*Remember that in Christ they are your brethren and fellow-servants : and therefore rule them not tyrannically but in tenderness and love : and command them nothing that is against the Laws of God, or the good of their souls.* Use not wrath and unmanlike fury with them ; nor any over-severe or unnecessary rebukes or chastisements. Find fault in season, with prudence and sobriety, when your passions are down and when it is most likely to do good. If it be *too little*, it will embolden them in doing ill : If it be too much, or frequent, or passionate, it will make them sleight it and despise it, and utterly hinder their repentance : They will be taken up in blaming you for your rashness and violence, instead of blaming themselves for the fault.

DIRECTION 2.—*Provide them work convenient for them, and such as they are fit for ; Not such or so much as to wrong*

them in their health, or hinder them from the necessary means of their salvation ; Nor yet so little as may cherish their idleness, or occasion them to lose their pretious time. It is cruelty to lay more on your *horse* than he can carry ; or to work your Oxen to skin and bones.—*Prov. xii. 10. A righteous man regardeth the life of his beast ;* much more of his servant. Especially put not your servants on any labour which hazardeth their health or life, without true necessity to some greater end. Pity and spare them more in their health than in their bare labour. Labour maketh the body sound, but to take deep colds, or go wet of their feet, do tend to their sickness and death. And should another man's *Life* be cast away for your commodity ? Do as you would be done by if you were servants your selves and in their case. And let not their labours be so great, as shall allow them no time to pray before they go about it, or as shall so tire them as to unfit them for Prayer or instruction or the Worship of the Lord's day, and shall lay them like blocks, as fitter to lie to sleep or rest themselves, than to pray or hear or mind any thing that is good. And yet take heed that you suffer them not to be idle, as many great men use their Serving men to the undoing of their souls and bodies. Idleness is no small sin itself, and it breedeth and cherisheth many others : Their time is lost by it ; and they are made unfit for any honest employment or course of life, to help themselves or any others.

DIRECTION 3.—*Provide them such wholesome food and lodging, and such wages as their service doth deserve, or as you have promised them.* Whether it be *pleasant* or *unpleasant*, let their *food* and *lodging* be *healthful*. It is so odious an oppression and injustice to defraud a servant or labourer of his wages (yea or to give him less than he deserveth)

that methinks I should not need to speak much against it among Christians. Read *Jam.* v. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and I hope it will be enough.

DIRECTION 4.—*Use not your servants to be so bold and familiar with you, as may tempt them to despise you ; nor yet so strange and distant as may deprive you of opportunity of speaking to them for their spiritual good, or justly lay you open to be censured as too magisterial and proud.* Both these extreams have ill effects ; but the first is commonest, and is the disquiet of many families.

DIRECTION 5.—*Remember that you have a charge of the souls in your family, and are as a Priest and Teacher in your own house, and therefore see that you keep them to the constant worshipping of God, especially on the Lord's day, in publick and private ; and that you teach them the things that concern their salvation (as is afterwards Directed).* And pray for them daily, as well as for your selves.

DIRECTION 6.—*Watch over them that they offend not God : Bear not with ungodliness or gross sin in your family.* Read *Psal.* ci. Be not like those ungodly masters, that look only that their own work be done, and bid God look after his work himself, and care not for their servants' souls because they care not for their own ; and mind not whether God be served by others, because they serve him not (unless with hypocritical lip-service) themselves.

DIRECTION 7.—*Keep your servants from evil company, and from being temptations to each other as far as you can.* If you suffer them to frequent Ale-houses, or riotous assemblies, or wanton or malignant company, when they are infected themselves, they will bring home the infection, and all the house may fare the worse for it : And when *Judas* groweth familiar with the Pharisees, he will be

seduced by them to betray his Master. You cannot be accountable for your servants if you suffer them to be much abroad.

DIRECTION 8.—*Go before them as examples of holiness and wisdom and all those virtues and duties which you would teach them.* An ignorant or a swearing, cursing, railing, ungodly Master, doth actually teach his servants to be such : and if his words teach them the contrary, he can expect but little reverence or success.

DIRECTION 9.—*Patiently bear with those tolerable frailties which their unskilfulness or bodily temperature or other infirmity make them lyable to against their wills.* A willing mind is an excuse for many frailties : much must be put up, when it is not from *wilfulness* or *gross neglect* : make not a greater matter of every infirmity or fault than there is cause. Look not that any should be perfect upon earth : Reckon upon it, that you must have servants of the progeny of *Adam*, that have corrupted natures, and bodily weaknesses ; and many things that must be born with. Consider how faultily you serve your Heavenly Master ; and how much he daily beareth with that which is amiss in you ; and how many faults and oversights you are guilty of in your *own* employment, and how many you should be overtaken with if you were in their stead.—*Eph. vi. 9.* *And ye Masters, do the same things to them, forbearing threatening, knowing that your master also is in Heaven, neither is there respect of persons with him.—Col. iv. 1.* *Masters give unto your servants that which is just and equal, etc.*

DIRECTION 10.—*See that they behave themselves well to their fellow servants : of which I shall speak anon.*

TIT. 2.—DIRECTIONS TO THOSE MASTERS IN
FOREIGN PLANTATIONS WHO HAVE NEGRO'S AND
OTHER SLAVES; BEING A SOLUTION OF SEVERAL
CASES ABOUT THEM

DIRECTION 1.—Understand well how far your Power over your slaves extendeth, and what limits God hath set thereto.

As, 1. Sufficiently difference between Men and Bruits. Remember that they are of as good a kind as you ; that is, They are reasonable Creatures, as well as you ; and born to as much natural liberty. If their sin have enslaved them to you, yet Nature made them your equals. Remember that they have immortal souls, and are equally capable of salvation with your selves. And therefore you have no power to do anything which shall hinder their salvation. No pretence of your business, necessity, commodity or power, can warrant you to hold them so hard to work, as not to allow them due time and seasons for that which God hath made their duty.

2. Remember that God is their absolute Owner, and that you have none but a *derived* and *limited Propriety* in them. They can be no further yours, than you have God's consent, who is the Lord of them and you. And therefore God's Interest in them, and by them must be served first.

3. Remember that *they* and *you* are equally under the Government and Laws of God. And therefore all God's Laws must be first obeyed by them, and you have no power to command them to omit any duty which God commandeth them, nor to commit any sin which God forbiddeth them : Nor can you without Rebellion or Impiety expect, that

your work or commands should be preferred before God's.

4. Remember that God is their Reconciled tender Father, and if they be as good, doth Love them as well as you : And therefore you must use the meanest of them no otherwise, than beseemeth the Beloved of God to be used ; and no otherwise than may stand with the due signification of your Love to God by Loving those that are his.

5. Remember that they are the Redeemed ones of Christ ; and that he hath not sold you his title to them : As he bought their souls at a price unvaluable, so he hath given the purchase of his blood to be absolutely at your disposal. Therefore so use them, as to preserve Christ's right and interest in them.

DIRECTION 2.—Remember that you are Christ's Trustees, or the Guardians of their souls ; and that the greater your power is over them, the greater your *charge* is of them, and your *duty* for them. As you owe more to a *Child* than to a Day Labourer or a hired Servant, because being more your own he is more entrusted to your care : so also by the same reason, you owe more to a slave, because he is more your own : And *power* and *obligation* go together. As *Abraham* was to Circumcise all his servants that were bought with money, and the fourth Commandment requireth Masters, to see that all within their gates observe the Sabbath day, so must you exercise both your Power and Love to bring them to the Knowledge and faith of Christ, and to the just obedience of God's commands. Those therefore that keep their *Negro's* and slaves from hearing God's word, and from becoming Christians, because by the Law they shall then be either made free, or they shall lose part of their service, do openly profess,

Rebellion against God, and contempt of Christ the Redeemer of souls, and a contempt of the souls of men, and indeed they declare that their worldly profit is their treasure and their God.

If this come to the hands of any of our Natives in *Barbado's* or other Islands or Plantations, who are said to be commonly guilty of this most heinous sin, yea and to live upon it, I intreat them further to consider as followeth. 1. How cursed a crime is it to equal *Men* and *Beasts*? Is not this your practice? Do you not buy them and use them meerly to the same end, as you do your *horses*? to labour for your commodity! as if they were baser than you, and made to serve you?

2. Do you not see how you reproach and condemn your selves, while you vilifie them as Savages and barbarous wretches? Did they ever do anything more *savage* than to use not only men's bodies as beasts, but their souls as if they were made for nothing, but to actuate their bodies in your worldly drudgery? Did the veriest Cannibals ever do any thing more cruel or odious than to sell so many souls to the Devil for a little worldly gain? Did ever the cursedst miscreants on earth do any thing more rebellious and contrary to the will of the most merciful God than to keep those souls from Christ, and holiness and Heaven, for a little money, who were made and redeemed for the same ends, and at the same pretious price as yours? Did your poor slaves ever commit such villanies as these? Is not he the basest wretch and the most barbarous savage, who committeth the greatest and most inhumane wickedness? And are theirs comparable to these of yours?

3. Doth not the very example of such cruelty, besides your keeping them from Christianity, directly tend to teach

them and all others, to hate Christianity, as if it taught men to be so much worse than Dogs and Tygers.

4. Do you not mark how God hath followed you with Plagues ? and may not Conscience tell you that it is for your inhumanity to the souls and bodies of so many ? Remember the late fire at the Bridge in Barbado's : Remember the drowning of your Governour and Ships at Sea, and the many judgements that have overtaken you ? and at the present the terrible mortality that is among you ?

5. Will not the example and warning of neighbour Countreys rise up in judgement against you and condemn you. You cannot but hear how odious the Spanish name is made (and thereby alas the Christian name also, among the West Indians) for their most inhumane Cruelties in *Hispaniola, Jamaica, Cuba, Peru, Mexico* and other places, which is described by *Josep. a Costa* a Jesuite of their own : And though I know that their cruelty who murdered millions exceedeth yours, who kill not mens bodies, yet yours is of the same kind, in the merchandize which you make with the Devil for their souls, whilst you that should help them with all your power, do hinder them from the means of their salvation. And on the contrary what an honour is it to those of *New England* that they take not so much as the Natives Soyl from them, but by purchase ? that they enslave none of them, nor use them cruelly, but shew them mercy, and are at a great deal of care and cost and labour for their salvation ? O how much difference between holy Master *Eliot's* life and yours ! His, who hath laboured so many years to save them, and hath translated the whole Bible into their language, with other Books ; and those good mens in *London* who are a Corporation for the furtherance of his work ; and theirs that have con-

tributed so largely towards it : And yours that sell mens souls for your commodity ?

6. And what comfort are you like to have at last, in that money that is purchased at such a price ? Will not your money and you perish together ? will you not have worse than *Gehezi's* Leprosie with it ; yea worse than *Achan's* death by Stoning ; and as bad as *Judas* his hanging himself, unless repentance shall prevent it ? Do you not remember the terrible words in Jude xi. : *Woe unto them, for they have gone in the way of Cain, and ran greedily after the errours of Balaam.* And 2 Pet. ii. 3, 14, 15 : *Through Covetousness—they make merchandize of you—An heart they have exercised with covetous practices ; Cursed Children (or Children of a Curse) which have forsaken the right way, and are gone astray, following the way of Balaam, the Son of Bosor, who loved the wages of unrighteousness, but was rebuked for his iniquity ; the dumb Asse speaking with mans voice forbad the madness of the Prophet.* When you shall everyone hear, *Thou fool this night shall thy soul be required of thee and then whose shall those things be which thou hast provided.*—Luke xii. 19, 20, 21. Will it not then cut deep in your perpetual torments, to remember that you got that little pelf, by betraying so many souls to hell ? What men in the World doth *James* speaks to, if not to you. Jam. v., 1, 2, 3, 4 : *Go to now ye Rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you : your riches are corrupted, and your garments are moth-eaten : your gold and is cankered, and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire : ye have heaped treasure together for the last dayes. Behold the hire of the labourers which have reaped down your fields which is of you kept back by fraud, cryeth, and the cryes of them which have reaped*

have entred into the ears of the Lord of Sabbath : How much more the cry of betrayed souls.

And here we may seasonably answer these cases.

Quest. 1 : *Is it lawful for a Christian to buy and use a man as a slave ?* Quest. 2 : *Is it lawful to use a Christian as a slave ?* Quest. 3 : *What difference must we make between a free servant and a slave ?*

To Quest. 1 I answer : There is a slavery to which some men may be Lawfully put, and there is a slavery to which none may be put ; And there is a slavery to which only the criminal may be put, by way of penalty.

1. No man may be put to such a slavery as under the first Direction is denied, that is, such as shall injure *God's interest and service*, or the *man's salvation*. 2. No man but as a just punishment for his crimes, may be so enslaved, as to be deprived of those liberties, benefits and comforts, which brotherly love obligeth every man to grant to another for his good, as far as is within our power, all things considered. That is, the same man is a servant and a brother, and therefore must at once be used as both. 3. Though poverty or necessity do make a man consent to sell himself to a life of lesser misery, to escape a greater, or death itself ; yet is it not lawful for any other so to take advantage by his necessity as to bring him into a condition, that shall make him miserable, or in which we shall not exercise so much love, as may tend to his sanctification, comfort and salvation. Because no *Justice* is beseeing a Christian or a Man, which is not conjoyned with a due measure of *Charity*.

But 1. He that deserveth it by way of penalty may be penally used. 2. He that stole and cannot restore may be forced to work it out as a servant : And in both these cases

more may be done against anothers ease or liberty, than by meer contract or consent. He that may hang a flagitious offender ; doth him no wrong if he put him to a slavery which is less penal than death. 3. More also may be done against Enemies taken in a lawful War, than could be done against the innocent by necessitated consent. 4. A *certain degree* of servitude or slavery is lawful by the necessitated consent of the innocent. That is so much. 1. As wrongeth no interest of God, 2. Nor of mankind by breaking the Law of Nations. 3. Nor the person himself, by hindering his salvation, or the needful means thereof ; nor those comforts of life, which nature giveth to man as man. 4. Nor the Common-wealth or society where we live.

Quest. 2 : To the 2 Quest. I answer, 1. As men must be variously Loved according to the various degrees of amiableness in them ; so various degrees of Love must be *exercised* towards them. Therefore good and real Christians must be used with more Love and brotherly tenderness than others. 2. It is meet also that infidels have so much mercy shewed them in order to the saving of their souls, as that they should be invited to Christianity by fit encouragements : And so that they should know that if they will turn Christians they shall have more priviledges and emoluments than the enemies of truth and piety shall have. It is therefore well done of Princes who make Laws that Infidel slaves shall be free men, when they are duly Christened. 3. But yet a nominal Christian who by wickedness forfeiteth his Life or freedom, may penally be made a slave as well as Infidels. 4. And a poor and needy Christian may sell himself into a harder state of servitude than he would choose or we could otherwise put him into.

But 5. To go as Pirats and catch up poor Negro's or people of another Land, that never forfeited Life or Liberty, and to make them slaves, and sell them, is one of the worst kinds of Thievery in the world ; and such persons are to be taken for the common enemies of mankind ; And they that buy them and use them as beasts, for their meer commodity, and betray or destroy or neglect their souls, are fitter to be called incarnate Devils than Christians, though they be no Christians whom they so abuse.

Quest. 3 : To the 3 Quest. I answer, That the solution of this case is to be gathered from what is said already. A Servant and a Voluntary Slave were both free men till they sold or hired themselves. And a criminal person was a freeman till he forfeited his life or liberty : But afterward the difference is this : that 1. A free servant is my servant no further than his own Covenant made him so ; Which is supposed to be, 1. to a certain kind and measure of labour according to the meaning of his contract. 2. For a limited time, expressed in the contract, whether a year or three or seven.

2. A Slave by meer Contract is one that, 1. Usually selleth himself absolutely to the will of another as to his labour both for *kind* and *measure* ; where yet the limitations of God and nature after (and before) named are supposed among Christians to take place. 2. He is one that selleth himself to such labour during life.

3. A Slave by just penalty is lyable to so much servitude as the Magistrate doth judge him to ; which may be, 1. Not only such labour as aforesaid as pleaseth his master to impose, 2. And that for life, 3. But it may be also to stripes and severities which might not lawfully be inflicted on another.

1. The Limitations of a necessitated-slavery by Contract or Consent through poverty are these, 1. Such a ones soul must be cared for and preserved, though he should consent to the contrary. He must have time to learn the word of God, and time to pray ; and he must rest on the Lords day, and employ it in Gods service ; He must be instructed and exhorted and kept from sin. 2. He may not be forced to commit any sin against God. 3. He may not (though he forcedly consent) be denied such comforts of this life, as are needful to his cheerful serving of God in Love and Thankfulness, according to the peace of the Gospel state ; and which are called by the name of *our Daily bread*. No man may deny a Slave any of this, that is not a criminal punished Slave.

2. And the most criminal slave may not be forced to sin, nor denied necessary helps to his salvation. But he may penally be beaten and denied part of his daily bread ; so it be not done more rigorously than true Justice doth require.

Quest. : *But what if men buy Negro's or other slaves of such as we have just cause to believe did steal them by Piracy, or buy them of those that have no power to sell them, and not hire or buy them by their own consent, or by the consent of those that had power to sell them, nor take them Captives in a lawful War, what must they do with them afterward ?*

Answ. : 1. It is their heynous sin to buy them, unless it be in charity to deliver them. 2. Having done it, undoubtedly they are presently bound to deliver them : Because by right the man is his own, and therefore no man else can have just title to him.

Quest. : *But may I not sell him again and make my money of him, seeing I leave him but as I found him ?*

Answ. : No : because when you have take possession of him, and a pretended propriety, then the injury that is done him is by you ; which before was only by another. And though the wrong be no greater than the other did him, yet being now done *by you*, it is your sin.

Quest. : *But may I not return him to him that I bought him of?*

Answ. : No : for that is but injuring him by delivering him to another to continue the injury. To say as *Pilate*, *I am innocent of the blood of this just man*, will be no proof of your innocency. Yea, God's Law bindeth you to Love and works of Love, and therefore you should do your best to free him : He that is bound to help to save a man, that is faln into the hand of thieves by the high way, if he should buy that man as a slave of the thieves, may not after give him up to the thieves again. But to proceed in the Directions.

DIRECTION 3.—So serve your own necessities by your slaves as to prefer God's interest, and their spiritual and everlasting happiness. Teach them the way to Heaven, and do all for their souls which I have before directed you to do for all your other servants. Though you may make some difference in their *Labour* and *dyet* and *cloathing*, yet none as to the furthering of their salvation. If they be Infidels use them so as tendeth to win them to Christ, and the love of Religion, by shewing them that Christians are less worldly, less cruel and passionate, and more wise and charitable, and holy and meek, than any other persons are. Wo to them that by their cruelty and covetousness do scandalize even slaves and hinder their conversion and salvation.

DIRECTION 4.—By how much the hardness of their con-

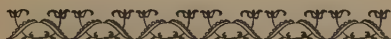
dition doth make their lives uncomfortable, and God hath cast them lower than your selves, by so much the more let your charity pity them, and labour to abate their burden, and sweeten their lives to them, as much as your condition will allow. And remember that even a slave may be one of those Neighbours that you are bound to love as your selves, and to do to as you would be done by if your case were his. Which if you do, you will need no more direction for his relief.

DIRECTION 5.—Remember that you may require no more of an innocent slave, than you would or might do of an ordinary servant, if he were at your will, and did not by contract *except* something as to Labour or usage, which else you would think just and meet to have required of him.

DIRECTION 6.—If they are Infidels, neither be too hasty in baptizing them, when they desire it, nor too slow. Not so hasty as to put them on it, before they understand what the Baptismal Covenant is ; or before you see any likelihood that they should be serious in making such a Covenant. Nor yet so *slow* as to let them alone to linger out their lives in the state of those without the Church. But hasten them to Learn, and stir up their desires, and look after them as the ancient Churches did after their Catechumens : And when you see them fit by knowledge, belief, desire and resolution, to Vow themselves to God on the terms of the holy Covenant, then put them on to be baptized. But if you should feel an abatement of your desires of their Conversion, because you shall lose their service (much more if ever you had a wish that they might not be converted, which is plain *Devilism*), let it be the matter of your deep humiliation, and repentance.

DIRECTION 7.—Make it your chief end in buying and

using slaves, to win them to Christ and save their souls. Do not only endeavour it on the buy, when you have first consulted your own commodity ; but make this more of your end than the commodity itself ; and let their salvation be far more valued by you than their service : And carry your selves to them, as those that are sensible that they are Redeemed with them by Christ from the slavery of Satan, and may live with them in the liberty of the Saints in Glory.



III.—DIRECTIONS FOR THE POOR. [Chap. xxvii.]

THERE is no condition of life so low or poor, but may be *sanctified*, and *fruitful*, and *comfortable* to us, if our own misunderstanding, or sin and negligence, do not pollute it or imbitter it to us : If we do the Duty of our condition faithfully, we shall have no cause to murmur at it. Therefore I shall here direct the *Poor* in the special *Duties* of their condition ; and if they will but conscionably perform them, it will prove a greater kindness to them, than if I could deliver them from their poverty, and give them as much riches as they desire. Though I doubt this would be more pleasing to the most ; and they would give me more thanks for *money*, than for teaching them how to want it.

DIRECTION 1.—*Understand first the use and estimate of all earthly things : that they were never made to be your portion and felicity, but your provision and helps in the way*

to Heaven. And therefore they are neither to be *estimated* nor *desired* simply for themselves (for so there is *nothing good but God*), but only as *they* are *Means* to the *Greatest Good*. Therefore neither *Poverty* nor *Riches* are simply to be *rejoyced* in for themselves, as any part of our happiness. But that condition is to be desired and rejoyced in which affordeth us the greatest helps for Heaven, and that condition only is to be lamented and disliked, which hindereth us most from Heaven, and from our duty.

DIRECTION 2.—*See therefore that you really take all these things, as matters in themselves indifferent, and of small concernment to you ; and as not worthy of much love, or care, or sorrow, further than they conduce to greater things.* We are like runners in a race, and Heaven or Hell will be our End ; and therefore woe to us, if by looking aside, or turning back, or stopping, or trifling about these matters, or burdening our selves with worldly trash, we should lose the race, and lose our souls. O Sirs, what greater matters than *poverty* or *riches* have we to mind ! Can those souls that must shortly be in Heaven or Hell, have time to bestow any serious thoughts, upon these impertinencies ? Shall we so much as *look at the temporal things which are seen*, instead of *the things eternal that are unseen* ?—Cor. iv. 18. Or shall we whine under those light *afflictions*, which may be so improved, as to *work for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory* ?—v. 17. Our present life is *not in the abundance of the things which we possess* : Much less is our eternal life.—Luke xii. 15.

DIRECTION 3.—*Therefore take heed that you judge not God's Love, or of your happiness or misery by your riches or poverty, prosperity or adversity, as knowing that they come alike to all, and Love or hatred is not to be discerned by*

them : except only God's *Common Love* as they are common mercies, to the body. If a Surgeon is not to be taken for a hater of you, because he letteth you blood, nor a Physicion because he purgeth his Patient, nor a Father because he correcteth his child ; much less is God to be judged an enemy to you or unmerciful, because *his wisdom* and not *your folly* disposeth of you, and proportioneth your estates. A carnal mind will judge of its own Happiness and the Love of God by carnal things, because it favoureth not spiritual mercies. But Grace giveth a Christian another judgement, relish and desire. As *Nature* setteth a *man* above the *food* and *pleasures* of a Beast.

DIRECTION 4.—*Stedfastly believe that God is every way fitter than you to dispose of your estate and you : He is infinitely wise, and knoweth what is best and fittest for you : He knoweth beforehand what good or hurt any state of plenty or want will do you : He knoweth all your corruptions and what condition will most conduce to strengthen them or destroy them, and which will be your greatest temptations and snares, and which will prove your safest state : Much better than any Physicion or Parent knoweth how to Dyet his Patient or his Child. And his Love and kindness is much greater to you, than yours is to your self : And therefore he will not be wanting in willingness to do you good : And his authority over you is absolute, and therefore his disposal of you must be unquestionable. It is the Lord : let him do what seemeth him good.—I. Jam. iii. 18. The Will of God should be the Rest and satisfaction of your wills.—Acts xxi. 14.*

DIRECTION 5.—*Stedfastly believe that ordinarily Riches are far more dangerous to the soul than poverty, and a greater hinderance to men's salvation. Believe experience : How*

few of the Rich and Rulers of the earth, are *holy, heavenly, self-denying, mortified men*? Believe your Saviour.—*Luke xviii. 24, 25, 27. How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the Kingdom of God? For it is easier for a Camel to go through a needle's eye, than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God: And they that heard it said, who then can be saved? And he said, The things which are impossible with men, are possible with God.* So that you see that the difficulty is so great of saving such as are Rich, that to men it is a thing impossible, but to God's Omnipotency only it is possible.—*I. Cor. i. 26. For ye see your calling, Brethren, how that not many wise after the flesh, not many mighty, nor many noble are called.* Believe this, and it will prevent many mistakes.

DIRECTION 6.—*Hence you may perceive, that though no man must pray absolutely either for Riches or Poverty, yet of the two it is more rational ordinarily to pray against Riches than for them, and to be rather troubled when God maketh us Rich, than when he maketh us poor.* (I mean it, in respect to *our selves*, as either of them seemeth to conduce to our *own* good or hurt: though to *do good to others* Riches are more desirable.) This cannot be denied by any man that believeth Christ: For no wise man will long for the hinderance of his salvation, or pray to God to make it as hard a thing for him to be saved, as for a Camel to go through a needle's eye: when *salvation* is a matter of such unspeakable moment, and our strength is so small, and the difficulties so many and great already.

Object: *But Christ doth not deny but the difficulties to the poor may be as great.* Answ.: To some particular persons upon other accounts it may be so: But it is clear in the Text, that Christ speaketh comparatively of such difficulties as the *Rich* had more than the poor.

Object : *But then how are we obliged to be thankful to God for giving us Riches, or blessing our labours?* *Ans.* 1 : You must be *thankful for them*, because in their *own nature* they are good, and it is by *accident*, through your own corruption, that they become so dangerous. 2 : Because you may *do good* with them to others, if you have hearts to use them well. 3 : Because God in giving them *to you* rather than to others, doth signifie (if you are his children) that they are fitter for you than for others. In *Bedlam* and among foolish children, it is a kindness to keep *fire*, and *swords* and *knives* out of their way : But yet they are useful to people that have the use of reason. But *our folly* in spiritual matters is so great, that we have little cause to be too eager for that which we are inclined so dangerously to abuse, and which proves the bane of most that have it.

DIRECTION 7.—*See that your poverty be not the fruit of your idleness, gluttony, drunkenness, pride or any other flesh-pleasing sin.* For if you bring it thus upon your selves, you can never look that it should be sanctified to your good, till sound Repentance have turned you from the sin : Nor are you objects worthy of much pity from man (except as you are miserable sinners). He that rather chooseth to have his *ease* and *pleasure*, though with *want*, than to have *plenty*, and to *want* his *ease* and *pleasure*, it is pity that he should have any better than he chooseth.

I. *Slothfulness* and *idleness* is a sin that naturally tendeth to want ; and God hath cursed it to be punished with poverty : as you may see, *Prov.* xii. 24, 27, and xviii. 9, and xxi. 25, and xxiv. 34, and xxvi. 14 and 15, and vi. 11, and xx. 13. Yea, he commandeth, that if any (that is able) *will not work, neither should he eat.*—II. *Thess.* iii. 10. In the sweat of their face must they eat their bread.—*Gen.* iii.

19. *And six dayes must they labour, and do all that they have to do.* To maintain your *idleness* is a sin in others. If you will *please your flesh with ease*, it must be displeased with want ; and you must suffer what you choose.

2. *Gluttony* and *drunkenness* are such beastly devourers of mercy, and abusers of mankind, that *shame* and *poverty* are their *punishment* and *cure*.—*Prov.* xxiii. 20, 21. *Be not among wine-bibbers, amongst riotous eaters of flesh : for the drunkard and the glutton shall come to poverty, and drowsiness shall cloath a man with rags.* It is not lawful for any man to feed the greedy appetites of such : If they choose a *short excess* before a *longer competency* let them have their choice.

3. *Pride* also is a most consuming wasteful sin. It sacrificeth God's mercies to the Devil, in serving him by them, in his *first-born* sin. Proud persons must lay it out in pomp and gawdiness, to set forth themselves to the eyes of others : In building and entertainments, and fine clothes, and curiosities : And *Poverty* is also both the *proper punishment* and *cure* of this sin : And it is cruelty for any to save them from it, and resist God that by abasing them, takes the way to do them good.—*Prov.* xi. 2, and xxix. 23, and xvi. 18.

4. *Falshood* also and *deceit*, and *unjust getting* tend to poverty : For God doth often even in this present life, thus enter into judgement with the unjust. Ill gotten wealth is like fire in the thatch, and bringeth oft-times a secret curse and destruction upon all the rest. The same may be said of unmercifulness to the poor ; which is oft cursed with poverty, when the liberal are blest with plenty.—*Prov.* xi. 24, 25 ; *Isa.* xxxii. 8 ; *Psal.* lxxiii. 21, 22, 25, 26, 34, 35.

DIRECTION 8.—*Be acquainted with the special temptations of the poor, that you may be furnished to resist them.* Every condition hath its own temptations, which persons in that condition must specially be fortified and watch against. And this is much of the wisdom and safety of a Christian.

Tempt. 1.—One *Temptation* of Poverty will be to draw you to *think highlier* of *Riches* and *Honours* than you ought : To make you think that the Rich are much happier than they are : For the *world* is like all other deceivers : it is *most esteemed* where it is *least known* : They that *never tryed* a life of *wealth*, and *plenty*, and *prosperity*, are apt to admire it, and think it braver and better than it is. And so you may be drawn as much to over-love the world by want, as other men by plenty. Against this remember, that it is *folly* to admire that which you never tryed and knew ; and mark whether all men do not vilifie it, that have tryed it to the last : Dying men call it no better than *vanity* and *deceit*. And it is rebellious pride in you so far to contradict the wisdom of God, as to think most highly of that condition, which he hath judged *worst* for you ; and to fall in Love with that which he denyeth you.

Tempt. 2.—The Poor will also be tempted to *over-much care* about their wants and worldly matters : They will think that *Necessity* requireth it in them. and will excuse them : So much care is your duty as is needful to the *right-doing* of your *work* : Take care how to discharge your *own duties* ; but be not too careful about the *event*, which belongs to God. If you will *care* what you should *be and do*, God will care sufficiently what you shall *have*. And so be it you faithfully do your business, your other care will add nothing to the success, nor make you any richer, but only vex and disquiet your minds. It is the poor as

well as the Rich, that God hath commanded to be *careful for nothing, and to cast all their care on him.*

Tempt. 3.—Poverty also will tempt you to repining, impatience and discontent and to fall out with others ; which because it is one of the chief Temptations, I will speak to by it self anon.

Tempt. 4.—Also you will be tempted to be *Coveting after more* : Satan maketh *Poverty* a snare to draw many needy creatures, to greater *Covetousness* than many of the Rich are guilty of : None thirst more eagerly after more : And yet their poverty blindeth them, so that they cannot see that they are covetous ; or else excuse it as a justifiable thing. They think that they desire no more but *necessaries*, and that it is not *Covetousness*, if they desire not *superfluities*. But do you not *covet* more than God allotteth you ? And are you not discontent with his allowance ? And doth not *he* know *best* what is *necessary* for you, and what *superfluous* ? What then is *Covetousness*, if this be not it ?

Tempt. 5.—Also you will be tempted to *Envy* the *Rich*, and to *Censure* them in matters where you are incompetent Judges. It is usual with the *Poor* to speak of the Rich with *Envy* and *Censoriousness* : They call them *Covetous* meerly because they are *Rich*, especially if they *give them nothing* : when they know not what wayes of necessary expence they have, nor know not how many others they are liberal to, that they are unacquainted with. Till you see their accounts you are unfit to censure them.

Tempt. 6.—The poor also will be tempted to use unlawful means to supply their wants : How many by the temptation of necessity have been tempted to comply with sinners, and wound their consciences, and lye and flatter for

favour or preferment, or to cheat, or steal, or over-reach ! A dear price ! to buy the food that perisheth, with the loss or hazard of everlasting life ; and lose their souls to provide for their flesh !

Tempt. 7.—Also you will be tempted to neglect your souls, and omit your spiritual duties, and as *Martha* to be troubled about many things, while the *one-thing needful* is forgotten : And you will think that *Necessity* will excuse all this : Yea, some think to be saved, because they are poor, and say God will not punish them in this life and in another too ! But alas, you are more unexcusable than the Rich, if *you* are ungodly and mindless of the life to come. For he that will love a life of *poverty* and *misery* better *than Heaven*, deserveth indeed to go without it much more than he that preferreth a life of *plenty* and *prosperity* before it. God hath taught *you* by his providence to know, that you must either be happy in *Heaven* or *nowhere* : If you *would* be worldlings, and part with Heaven for your part on Earth, how poor a bargain are you like to make. To love rags, and toil, and want, and sorrow, better than Eternal joy and happiness, is the most unreasonable kind of Ungodliness in the world. It's true, that you are not called to spend so many hours of the Week-dayes in Reading and Meditation, as some that have greater leisure are : But you have reason to seek Heaven, and set your hearts upon it, as much as they : And you must *think* of it when you are about your labour, and take those opportunities for your spiritual duties, which are allowed you. Poverty will excuse ungodliness in none ! Nothing is so Necessary as the service of God and your salvation ; and therefore *no necessity* can excuse you from it.—*Luke* x. 41, 42. Read the case of *Mary* and *Martha* : One would think

that your hearts should be *wholly set upon Heaven*, who have nothing else but it to trust to. The poor have fewer hinderances than the rich, in the way to life eternal And God will save no man because he is poor ; but condemn poor and rich that are ungodly.

Tempt. 8.—Another great Temptation of the poor, is to neglect the holy education of their children : so that in most places, there are none so ignorant, and rude, and heathenish, and unwilling to learn, as the poorest people and their children : They never teach them to read, nor teach them any thing for the saving of their souls : and they think that their poverty will be an excuse for all. When reason telleth them, that none should be more careful to help their children to Heaven, than they that can give them nothing upon earth.

DIRECTION 9.—*Be acquainted with the special Duties of the poor ; and carefully perform them :* They are these :

1. Let your sufferings teach you to contemn the world : It will be a happy poverty if it do but help to wean your affections from all things below, that you set as little by the world as it deserveth.

2. Be eminently Heavenly-minded : The less you have or hope for in this life, the more fervently seek a better. You are at least as capable of the heavenly treasures as the greatest Princes : God purposely straitneth your condition in the world, that he may force up your hearts unto himself, and teach you to seek first for that which indeed is worth your seeking.—*Matth. vi. 33, 19, 20, 21.*

3. Learn to live upon God alone : Study his Goodness, and faithfulness, and all-sufficiency : When you have not a *place* nor a *friend* in the world, that you can comfortably betake your selves to for relief, retire unto God, and trust

him, and dwell the more with him. If your poverty have but this effect, it will be better to you than all the Riches in the world.

Be laborious and diligent in your Callings : Both precept and necessity call you unto this : And if you cheerfully serve him in the labour of your hands, with a heavenly and obedient mind, it will be as acceptable to him, as if you had spent all that time in more spiritual exercises : For he had rather have *Obedience* than *Sacrifice* ; and all things are pure and sanctified to the pure : If you cheerfully serve God in the *meanest work*, it is the *more acceptable* to him, by how much the more subjection and submission there is in your obedience.

5. Be humble and submissive unto all. A poor man proud is doubly hateful : And if Poverty cure your Pride, and help you to be truly *humble* it will be no small mercy to you.

6. You are specially obliged to mortifie the flesh, and keep your senses and appetites in subjection : because you have greater helps for it than the Rich : You have not so many baits of lust, and wantonness, and gluttony, and voluptuousness as they.

7. Your corporal wants must make you more sensibly remember your spiritual wants ; and teach you to value spiritual blessings : Think with your selves, If a hungry, cold and naked body, be so great a calamity, how much greater is a guilty, graceless soul ! A dead or a diseased heart ? If bodily food and necessities are so desirable, O how desirable is Christ, and his Spirit, and the Love of God and life eternal ?

8. You must above all men be careful Redeemers of your Time : Especially of the Lord's Day : Your labours

take up so much of your time, that you must be the more careful to catch every opportunity for your souls ! Rise earlier to get half an hour for holy duty ; and meditate on holy things in your labours ; and spend the Lord's Day in special diligence : and be glad of such seasons ; and let scarcity preserve your appetites.

9. *Be willing to dye.* Seeing the world giveth you so cold entertainment, be the more content to let it go, when God shall call you : For what is here to detain your hearts ?

10. Above all men, you should be most fearless of sufferings from men, and therefore true to God and Conscience : For you have no great matter of honour, or riches, or pleasure to lose ; As you fear not a Thief, when you have nothing for him to rob you of.

11. Be specially careful to fit your children also for Heaven : Provide them a portion which is better than a Kingdom : For you can provide but little for them in the world.

12. Be exemplary in *Patience* and Contentedness with your state : For that grace should be the strongest in us which is most exercised : And Poverty calleth you to the frequent exercise of this.

DIRECTION 10.—*Be specially furnished with those Reasons which should keep you in a chearful contentedness with your state ; and may suppress every thought of anxiety and discontent.*

As, 1, Consider as aforesaid, that that is the best condition for you, which helpeth you best to Heaven : and God best knoweth what will do you good or hurt ; 2, That it is rebellion to grudge at the Will of God ; which must dispose of us, and should be our Rest ; 3, Look over the

life of Christ, who chose a life of poverty for your sakes : and had not a place to lay his head ! He was not one of the Rich and voluptuous in the world, and are you grieved to be conformed to him ?—*Phil.* iii. 7, 8, 9 ; 4, Look to all his Apostles and most holy Servants and Martyrs. Were not they as great sufferers as you ? 5, Consider that the Rich will shortly be all as poor as you : Naked they came into the world, and naked they must go out : And a little time makes little difference ; 6, It is no more comfort to dye Rich than poor ; but usually much less : because the pleasanter the world is to them, the more it grieveth them to leave it ; 7, All men cry out, that the world is vanity at last. How little is it valued by a dying man ? and how sadly will it cast him off ? 8, The *time* is very *short* and *uncertain* in which you must enjoy it : We have but a few dayes more to walk about, and we are gone. Alas, of how small concernment is it, whether a man be rich or poor that is ready to step into another world ; 9, The Love of this world drawing the heart from God, is the common cause of men's damnation : And is not the world liker to be over-loved, when it entertaineth you with prosperity, than when it useth you like an enemy ? Are you displeased that God thus helpeth to save you from the most damning sin ? and that he maketh not your way to Heaven more dangerous ? 10, You little know the troubles of the Rich : He that hath much, hath much to do with it, and much to care for ; and many persons to deal with, and more vexations than you imagine ; 11, It is but the *flesh* that suffereth : and it furthereth your mortification of it ; 12, You pray but for your *daily bread*, and therefore should be contented with it ; 13, Is not God, and Christ, and Heaven enough for you ? Should that man be dis-

content that must live in Heaven ? 14, Is it not your *lust*, rather than your well-informed Reason that repineth ? I do but name all these Reasons for brevity. You may enlarge them in your Meditations.



IV.—DIRECTIONS FOR THE RICH. [Ch. xxviii.]

I HAVE said so much of this already, *Tom. i.*, about Covetousness or Worldliness, and about Good Works, and in my Book of *Self-denial*, and that of *Crucifying the World*, that my Reason commandeth me brevity in this place.

DIRECTION 1.—Remember that Riches are no part of your *Felicity* : or that if you have no better, you are undone men. Dare you say that they are fit to make you happy ? Dare you say, that you will take them for your part ? and be content to be turned off when they forsake you ? They reconcile not God. They save not from his wrath : They heal not a wounded Conscience : They may please your flesh, and adorn your Funeral, but they neither delay, nor sanctifie, nor sweeten death, nor make you either *better* or *happier* than the poor. Riches are nothing but plentiful provision, for tempting corruptible flesh. When the flesh is in the dust, it is Rich no more. All that abounded in wealth since *Adam's* dayes till now, are levelled with the lowest in the dust.

DIRECTION 2.—Yea, remember that *Riches* are not the smallest Temptation and Danger to your souls. Do they delight and please you? By that way they may destroy you. If they be but *Loved* above God, and make *Earth* seem *better* for you than Heaven, they have undone you; and if God recover you not, it had been better for you to have been Worms or Bruits, than such deceived miserable souls. It is not for nothing that Christ giveth you so many terrible warnings about Riches, and so describeth the *folly*, the *danger* and the *misery* of the *worldly* rich, *Luke* xii. 17, 18, 19, 20 and xvi. 19, 20, 21, etc. and xviii. 21, 22, 23, etc., and telleth you how hardly the Rich are saved. Fire burneth most when it hath most fewel. And Riches are the fewel of worldly Love and fleshly Lust.—I. *John* ii. 15, 16; *Rom.* xiii. 13, 14.

DIRECTION 3.—Understand what it is to *Love* and *Trust* in worldly prosperity and wealth. Many here deceive themselves to their destruction. They perswade themselves that they desire and use their Riches but for necessity, but that they do not *Love* them, nor *Trust* in them, because they can say that *Heaven* is better, and *Wealth* will leave us to a grave? But do you not *Love* that *Ease*, that *Greatness*, that *Domination*, that *Fulness*, that *Satisfaction* of your appetite, eye and fancy, which you cannot have without your wealth? It is *fleshly Lust*, and *Will*, and *Pleasure*, which carnal worldlings *Love* for itself; and then they *Love* their *wealth* for *these*. And to *Trust* in Riches, is not to *Trust* that they will never leave you; for every fool doth know the contrary. But it is to *Rest*, and *Quiet*, and *Comfort* your minds in them, as that which most *pleaseth* you, and maketh you *well*, or to be as you would be. Like him in *Luke* xii. 18, 19, that said, *Soul take thy Ease*,

Eat, drink and be merry, thou hast enough laid up for many years : This is to *Love* and *Trust* in Riches.

DIRECTION 4.—Above all the deceits and dangers of this world, take heed of a secret hypocritical hope of reconciling the World to Heaven, so as to make you a felicity of both ; and dreaming of a compounded portion, or of serving God and Mammon : “ The true state of the Hypocrite’s Heart and Hope is To Love his worldly prosperity best, and desire to keep it as long as he can, for the enjoyment of his fleshly pleasures ; and when he must leave this world against his will, he hopeth then to have Heaven as a reserve ; because he thinketh it better than Hell ; and his Tongue can say, It is better than Earth, though his will and affections say the contrary.” If this be your case, the Lord have mercy upon you, and give you a more believing spiritual mind, or else you are lost, and you and your treasure will perish together.

DIRECTION 5.—Accordingly take heed lest when you seem to resign your selves and all that you have to God, there should be a secret purpose at the heart, that you will never be undone in the world for Christ, nor for the hopes of a better world. A knowing hypocrite is not ignorant that the terms of Christ proposed in the Gospel are no lower than *forsaking all*, and that in Baptism, and our Covenant with Christ, all must be resigned and devoted to him, and the Cross taken up instead of all, or else we are no Christians, as being not in Covenant with Christ. But the hypocrite’s hope is, that though Christ put him upon these promises, he will never put him to the tryal for performance, nor never call him to forsake all indeed : And therefore if ever he be put to it, he will not perform the promise which he hath made. He is like a Patient that

promiseth to be wholly ruled by his Physicion, as hoping that he will put him upon nothing which he cannot bear. But when the bitter Potion or the Vomit cometh, he saith, I cannot take it : I had hoped you would have given me gentler Physick.

DIRECTION 6.—And accordingly take heed lest while you pretend to Live to God, and to use all that you have as his Stewards for his service, you should deceitfully put him off with the leavings of your lusts, and give him only so much as your flesh can spare. It is not likely that the damned Gentleman, *Luke* xvi. was never used to give anything to the poor : else what did beggars use his doors for ? When Christ promiseth to reward men for a cup of cold water, the meaning is when they would give better if they had it. There are few Rich men of all that go to Hell, that were so void of humane compassion, or of the sense of their own reputation, as to give *nothing* at all to the poor. But God will *have all* ; though not all for the poor, yet *all* employed *as he commandeth* ; and will not be put off with your tythes or scraps. His Stewards confess that they have nothing of their own.

DIRECTION 7.—Let the use of your Riches in prosperity shew, that you do not dissemble, when you promise to forsake all for Christ in tryal, rather than forsake him. You may know whether you are true or false in your Covenant with Christ, and what you would do in a day of tryal, by what you do in your daily course of life. How can that man leave all at once for Christ, that cannot daily serve him with his riches, nor leave that little which God requireth, in the discharge of his duty in pious and charitable works ? What is it to leave all for God, but to leave all rather than to sin against God ? And will he do that,

who daily sinneth against God by omission of good works, because he cannot leave some part? Study, as faithful Stewards, to serve God to the utmost with what you have now, and then you may expect that his grace should enable you to leave all in tryal, and not prove withering hypocrites and apostates!

DIRECTION 8.—Be not Rich to your selves, or to your fleshly Wills and Lusts: but remember that the Rich are bound to be spiritual, and to mortifie the flesh, as well as the poor; Let lust fare never the better for all the fulness of your estates! Fast and humble your souls never the less; Please an inordinate appetite never the more in meat or drink; Live never the more in unprofitable idleness. The Rich must labour as constantly as the poor, though not in the same kind of work. The Rich must live soberly, temperately and heavenly, and must as much mortifie all fleshly desires as the poor. You have the same Law and Master, and have no more liberty to indulge your lusts, but if you live after the flesh, you shall dye as well as any other. O the partiality of carnal minds! They can see the fault of a poor man that goeth sometime to an Ale-house, who perhaps drinketh water (or that which is next it) all the Week: when they never blame themselves, who scarce miss a meal without Wine and strong drink, and eating that which their appetite desireth! They think it a crime in a poor man, to spend but one day in many, in such idleness, as they themselves spend most of their lives in. Gentlemen think that their Riches allow them to live without any profitable labour, and to gratifie their flesh, and fare deliciously every day: As if it were their priviledge to be sensual, and to be damned!—*Rom.* viii. 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13.

DIRECTION 9.—Nay, remember that you are called to far greater self-denial, and fear, and watchfulness against sensuality and wealthy vices than the poor are. Mortification is as necessary to your salvation as to theirs ; but much more difficult. If you live after the flesh you shall dye as well as they : And how much stronger are your temptations ! Is not he easilier drawn to gluttony or excess in quality or quantity, who hath daily a Table of plenty and enticing delicious food before him, than he that never seeth a temptation once in half a year ? Is it not harder for him to deny his appetite, who hath the baits of pleasant meats and drinks daily set upon his Table, than for him that is seldome in sight of them, and perhaps in no possibility of procuring them, and therefore hath nothing to sollicite his appetite or thoughts ? Doubtless the Rich, if ever they will be saved, must watch more constantly, and set a more resolute guard upon the flesh, and live more in fear of sensuality than the poor, as they live in greater temptations and dangers :

DIRECTION 10.—Know therefore particularly what are the *Temptations of Prosperity*, that you may make a particular prosperous resistance. And they are especially these :

1. *Pride* : The foolish heart of man is apt to swell upon the accession of so poor a matter as wealth : and men think they are got above their neighbours, and more honour and obeysance is their due, if they be but richer.

2. *Fulness of bread* : If they do not eat till they are sick, they think the constant and costly pleasing of their appetite in meats and drinks is lawful.

3. *Idleness* : They think he is not bound to Labour that can live without it, and hath enough.

4. *Time-wasting sports and recreations* : They think their hours may be devoted to the flesh, when all their lives are devoted to it. They think their wealth alloweth them to play, and court, and complement away that pretious time, which no men have more need to redeem. They tell God, that he hath given them more time than they have need of : And God will shortly cut it off, and tell them that they shall have no more.

5. *Lust and wantonness* : *Fulness* and *idleness* cherish both the cogitations and inclinations unto filthiness. They that live in *gluttony* and *drunkenness*, are like to live in *chambering* and *wantonness*.

6. *Curiosity* and wasting their lives in a multitude of little, ceremonious, unprofitable things, to the exclusion of the great businesses of life. Well may we say that men's own Lusts are their Jaylors, and their fetters, when we see to what a wretched kind of life, a multitude of the Rich (especially Ladies and Gentlewomen) do condemn themselves. I should pity one in *Bridewell* that were but tyed so to spend their time : When they have poor, ignorant, proud, worldly, pievish, hypocritical, ungodly souls to be healed, and a life of great and weighty business to do for eternity, they have so many little things all day to do, that leave them little time to converse with God or with their Consciences, or to do any thing that is really worth the living for : They have so many fine cloaths and ornaments to get, and use ; and so many rooms to neatifie and adorn, and so many servants to talk with that attend them, and so many dishes and sawces to bespeak, and so many flowers to plant, and dress, and walks and places of pleasure to mind, and so many Visitors to entertain with whole hours of unprofitable talk, and so many great persons accordingly

to visit, and so many Laws of Ceremony and Complement to observe, and so many Games to play (perhaps) and so many hours to sleep, that the day, the year, their lives are gone, before they could have while to know what they lived for ! And if God had but damned them to spend their dayes in picking straws, or filling a bottomless Vessel, or to spend their dayes as they choose themselves to spend them, it would have tempted us to think him unmerciful to his creatures.

7. *Tyranny and oppression* : When men are above others, how commonly do they think that their wills must be fulfilled by all men, and none must cross them, and they live as if all others below them were as their beasts, that are made for them, to serve and please them.

DIRECTION 11.—Let your fruitfulness to God and the publick good be proportionable to your possessions. Do as much more good in the world than the poor, as you are better furnished for it than they. Let your servants have more time for the learning of God's Word, and let your families be the more religiously instructed and governed. To whom God giveth much, for them he doth expect much.

DIRECTION 12.—Do not only take occasions of doing good when they are thrust upon you ; but *study* how to do all the good you can, as those that are *zealous* of *good works*.—*Tit. ii. 14.* Zeal of good works will make you—1, Plot and contrive for them ; 2, Consult and ask advice for them ; 3, It will make you glad when you meet with a hopeful opportunity ; 4, It will make you do it largely, and not sparingly, and by the halves ; 5, It will make you do it speedily, without unwilling backwardness and delay ; 6, It will make you do it *constantly* to your lives end ; 7, It will make you pinch your own flesh, and suffer some-

what your selves to good to others ; 8, It will make you *Labour* in it as your Trade, and not only consent that others do good at your charge ; 9, It will make you glad when good is done, and not to grudge at what it cost you ; 10, In a word, it will make your neighbours to be to you as your selves, and the Pleasing of God to be above your selves, and therefore to be as glad to *do good*, as to *receive it*.

DIRECTION 13.—Do good both to men's souls and bodies : but alwayes let bodily benefits be conferred in order to those of the soul, and in due subordination, and not for the body alone. And observe the many other Rules of Good Works, more largely laid down.—*Tom. i., Cap. iii., Direct. 10.*

DIRECTION 14.—Ask your selves often, How you shall wish at death and judgement your estates had been laid out : and accordingly now use them. Why should not a man of Reason do that which he knoweth before hand he shall vehemently wish that *he had* done ?

DIRECTION 15.—As your care must be in a special manner for your children and families ; so take heed of the common error of worldlings, who think their children must have so much, as that God and their own souls have very little. When selfish men can keep their wealth no longer to themselves, they leave it to their children, who are as their surviving selves. And all is cast into this gulf, except some inconsiderable parcels.

DIRECTION 16.—Keep daily account of your use and improvement of your Master's Talents. Not that you should too much remember your own good works ; but remember to do them ; and therefore ask your selves, What Good have I done with all that I have, this Day or Week ?

DIRECTION 17.—Look not for long life, for then you will think that a long journey needeth great provisions : But dye daily, and live as those that are going to give up their account : And then Conscience will force you to ask, whether you have been faithful Stewards, and to lay up a treasure in Heaven, and to make you friends of the Mammon that others use to unrighteousness, and to lay up a good foundation for the time to come, and to be glad that God hath given you that, the improvement of which may further the good of others and your salvation : *Living* and *Dying* let it be your care and business to *Do Good*.





From
CHRISTIAN POLITICS

I.—DIRECTIONS AGAINST ALL THEFT AND
FRAUD, OR INJURIOUS GETTING AND
KEEPING THAT WHICH IS ANOTHER'S,
OR DESIRING IT. [Chap. xviii., Tit. i.]

HE that will know what *Theft* is, must know what Propriety is : And it is that plenary title to a thing, by which it is called *Our Own* ; It is that right to any thing as *Mine*, by which I may justly *have it, possess it, use it, and dispose of it*. This Dominion or Propriety is either *Absolute* (and that belongeth to none but God) or subordinate, respective and limited (which is the only Propriety that any creature can have). Which is such a Right which will hold good against the claim of any fellow creature, though not against God's. And among men there are Proprietors or Owners which are Principal, and some who are but *dependant, subordinate and limited*. The simple *Propriety* may remain in a Landlord or Father, who may convey to his Tenant or his child a limited dependant propriety under him. Injuriouly to deprive a man of this *Propriety*, or of the thing in which he hath *propriety*, is the sin which I speak of in this Chapter ; which hath no one name, and therefore I express it here by many. Whether it be Theft, Robbery, Cousenage,

Extortion, or any other way of depriving another injuriously of his own. These general directions are needful to avoid it.

DIRECTION 1.—*Love not the world, nor the things that are in the world.*—I. John ii. 15. *Cure covetousness, and you will kill the root of fraud and theft.* As a drunkard would easily be cured of his drunkenness, if you could cure him of his *thirst* and love to drink ; so an extortioner, thief or deceiver would easily be cured of their outward sin, if their hearts were cured of the Disease of worldliness. The love of money is the root of all this evil. Value these things no more than they deserve.

DIRECTION 2.—*To this end acquaint your hearts with the greater riches of the life to come :* And then you will meet with true satisfaction. The true hopes of Heaven will cure your greedy desires of earth. You durst not then forfeit your part in that perpetual blessedness for the temporal supply of some bodily want : You durst not with *Adam* part with Paradise for a forbidden bit ; nor as *Esau* prophanely sell your birthright for a morsel. It is the unbelief and contempt of Heaven which maketh men venture it for the poor commodities of this world.

DIRECTION 3.—*Be contented to stand to God's disposal, and suffer not any carking discontented thoughts to feed upon your hearts.* When you suffer your minds to run all day long upon your necessities and straits, the Devil next tempteth you to think of unlawful courses to supply them. He will shew you your neighbour's money, or goods, or estates, and tell you how well it would be with you if this were yours : He shewed *Achan* the golden Wedge : He told *Gehezi* how unreasonable it was that *Naaman's* money and Rayment should be refused : He told *Balaam* of the

hopes of preferment which he might have with *Balak* : He told *Judas* how to get his thirty pieces : He perswaded *Ananias* and *Saphira* that it was but reasonable to retain part of that which was their own. Nay, commonly it is discontents and cares which prepareth poor wretches for those appearances of the Devil, which draweth them to Witchcraft for the supplying of their wants. If you took God for your God, you would take him for the sufficient disposer of the world, and one that is fitter to measure out your part of earthly things than you your selves : And then you would rest in his wisdom, will and fatherly providence ; and not shift for your selves by sinful means. *Discontentedness* of mind and *distrust* of God are the cause of all such frauds and injuries. *Trust* God and you will have no need of these.

DIRECTION 4.—*Remember what Promises God hath made for the competent supply of all your wants.* Godliness hath the promise of this life and of that to come : All other things shall be added to you if you seek first God's Kingdom and the righteousness thereof.—*Matth.* vi. 33. They that fear the Lord shall want nothing that is good.—*Psal.* xxxvii. All things shall work together for good to them that love God.—*Rom.* viii. 28. *Let your conversation be without covetousness and be content with such things as ye have : for he hath said, I will never leave thee nor forsake thee.*—*Heb.* xiii. 5. Live by faith on these sufficient promises, and you need not steal.

DIRECTION 5.—*Overvalue not the accommodation and pleasure of the flesh, and live not in the sins of gluttony, drunkenness, pride, gaming, or ryotous courses, which may bring you into want, and so to seek unlawful maintenance.* He that is a servant to his flesh cannot endure to displease

it, nor can bear the want of any thing which it needeth. But he that mastered and mortified his flesh can endure its labour and hunger, yea, and death too, if God will have it so. Large revenues will be too little for a fleshly minded person : But a little will serve him that hath brought it under the power of reason. *Magna pars libertatis est bene moratus venter*, saith *Seneca* : A well nurtured, fair conditioned belly is a great part of a man's liberty, because an ill-taught and ill-conditioned belly is one of the basest slaveries in the world. As a Philosopher said to *Diogenes*, If thou couldst flatter *Dionysius*, thou needst not eat herbs : But, saith *Diogenes*, If thou couldst eat herbs thou needest not flatter *Dionysius* : He took this for the harder task. So the Thief and deceiver will say to the poor, If you could do as we do you need not fare so badly : But a contented poor man may better answer him if you could fare hardly as I do you need not deceive or steal as you do. A proud person that cannot endure to dwell in a Cottage, or to be seen in poor or patcht apparel, will be easily tempted to any unlawful way of getting to keep him from disgrace and serve his pride. A Glutton whose Heaven is in his throat must needs fare well, however he come by it : a Tipler must needs have provision for his guggle, by right or by wrong. But a humble man, and a temperate man, can spare all this, and when he looketh on all the proud man's furniture he can bless himself as *Socrates* did in a Fair, with *Quam multa sunt quibus ipse non egeo* : How many things be there which I have no need of : And he can pity the sensual desires which others must needs fulfil : even as a sound man pitieth another that hath the itch, or the thirst of a sick man in a fever that crieth out for drink. As *Seneca* saith, *It is Vice and not Nature, which needeth*

much. Nature, and necessity, and duty are contented with a little. But he that must have the pleasure of his sin must have provision to maintain that pleasure. Quench the fire of pride, sensuality and lust and you may spare the cost of fuel.—Rom. xiii. 13, 14, and viii. 13.

DIRECTION 6.—*Live not in idleness or sloth, but be laborious in your Callings that you may escape that need or poverty which is the temptation to this sin of theft. Idleness is a crime which is not to be tolerated in Christian Societies.—II. Thess. ii. 6, 8, 10, 11, 12. Now we command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the tradition which he received of us : For you know how ye ought to follow us ; for we behaved not ourselves disorderly among you, neither did we eat any man's bread for nought : but workt with labour and travail night and day, that we might not be chargeable to any of you : Not because we have not power, but to make ourselves an ensample to you to follow us : For when we were with you, this we commanded you, that if any would not work, neither should he eat : For we hear that there are some among you which walk disorderly, working not at all, but are busie bodies : Now them that are such we command and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that with quietness they work and eat their own bread.—Eph. iv. 28. Let him that stole, steal no more, but rather let him labour, working with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth. He that stealeth to maintain his Idleness sinneth that he may sin ; and by one sin getteth provision for another. You see here that you are bound not only to work to maintain yourselves, but to have to give to others in their need.*

DIRECTION 7.—*Keep a tender conscience which will do its office, and not suffer you to sin without remorse.* A seared senseless conscience will permit you to lye and steal and deceive, and will make no great matter of it till God awaken it by his grace or vengeance. Hence it is that servants can deceive their masters, or take that which is not allowed them, and buyers and sellers over-reach one another because they have not tender consciences to reprove them.

DIRECTION 8.—*Remember always that God is present and none of your secrets can be hid from him.* What the better are you to deceive your neighbour or your master and to hide it from their knowledge, as long as your Maker and Judge seeth all? When it is him that you most wrong, and with him that you have most to do, and he that will be the most terrible avenger? What blinded Atheists are you who dare do that in the presence of the most righteous God, which you durst not do if men beheld you?

DIRECTION 9.—*Forget not how dear all that must cost you, which you gain unlawfully.* The reckoning time is yet to come. Either you will *truly Repent*, or not: If you do, it must cost you remorse and sorrow, and shameful confession, and restitution of all that you have got amiss. And is it not better forbear to swallow that morsel, which must come up again with heart breaking grief and shame. But if you repent not unfeignedly, it will be your damnation. It will be opened in Judgement to your perpetual confusion, and you must pay dear for all your gain in Hell. Never look upon the gain therefore without the shame and damnation which must follow. If *Achan* had foreseen the stones, and *Gehezi* the leprosy, and *Ahab* the mortal arrow, and *Jezebel* the licking of her blood by dogs, and *Judas*

the hanging or precipitation, and *Ananias* and *Saphira* the sudden death, or any of them the aftermiserery, it might have kept them from their pernicious gain. Usually even in this life a curse attendeth that which is ill gotten, and bringeth fire among all the rest.

DIRECTION 10.—*If you are poor, consider well of the mercy which that condition may bring you, and let it be your study how to get it sanctified to your good.* If men understood and believed that God doth dispose of all for the best, and make them poor to do them good, and considered what that good is which poverty may do them, and made it their chief care to turn it thus to their gain, they would not find it so intolerable a thing as to seek to cure it by fraud or thievery. Think what a mercy it is that you are saved from those temptations to overlove the world, which the rich are undone by, and that you are not under those temptations to intemperance, and excess and pride as they are, and that you have such powerful helps for the mortification of the flesh, and victory over the deceiving world ! Improve your poverty, and you will escape these sins.

DIRECTION 11.—*If you are but willing to escape this sin, you may easily do it by a free Confession to those whom you have wronged or are tempted to wrong.* He that is not willing to forbear his sin is guilty before God, though he do forbear it. But if you are truly willing, it is easy to abstain. Do not say that you are willing till necessity pincheth you or you see the bait : For if you are so you may easily prevent it at *that time when you are willing*. If ever you are willing indeed, take that opportunity, and if you have wronged any man, go and confess it to him (in the manner as I shall afterward direct). And this will easily

prevent it: For shame will engage you, and self preservation will engage him, to take more heed of you. Or if you have not yet wronged any, but are strongly tempted to it, if you have no other sufficient remedy, go tell him or some other fit person that you are *tempted to steal* and to deceive in such or such a manner, and desire them not to trust you. If you think the shame of such a Confession too dear a price to save you from the sin, pretend no more that you are truly willing to forbear it, or that ever you did unfeignedly repent of it.

TIT. 2.—CERTAIN CASES OF CONSCIENCE ABOUT
THEFT AND INJURY

Question 1: *Is it a sin for a man to steal in absolute necessity, when it is merely to save his life?*

Answer: The case is very hard: I shall tell you so much as is passed controversy, and then speak to the controverted part. 1. If all other unquestionable means be not first used, it is undoubtedly a sin. If either labouring, or begging, will save our lives, it is unlawful to steal. Yea or if any others may be used to intercede for us. Otherwise it is not stealing to save a man's life, but stealing to save his labour, or to gratify his pride and save his honour. 2. It is undoubtedly a sin, if the saving of our lives by it do bring a greater hurt to the Common-wealth, or other men than our lives are worth. 3. And it is a sin if it deprive the owner of his life, he being a person more worthy and useful to the common good. These cases are no matter of controversy. 4. And it is agreed of that no

man may steal before-hand out of a distrustful fear of want. 5. Or if he take more than is of necessity to save his life. These cases also are put as out of controversy.

But whether in an *innocent absolute necessity* it be lawful to steal *so much as* is merely sufficient to save one's life, is a thing that Casuists are not agreed on. They that think it lawful, say that the preservation of life is a natural duty, and preservation of propriety is but a subservient thing which must give place to it. So *Amesius* "*de Conscientia*" * l. 5, c. 50, maketh it one case of lawful taking that which is another's, Si irrationabiliter censeatur Dominus invitus : ut in eis que accipit aliquis ex alieno ad extremam et præsentem suam necessitatem sublevandam, cui alia ratione succurrere non potest. Hoc enim videtur esse ex jure naturali, divisione rerum antiquiore and superiore ; quod jure humano quo facta est divisio rerum non potuit abrogari : Quo sensu non male dicitur, omnia fieri communia in extrema necessitate.

On the other side, those that deny it say that the same God that hath bid us preserve our lives hath appointed propriety, and forbid us to steal without excepting a case of necessity, and therefore hath made it simply evil, which we may not do for the procurement of any good : And the saving of a man's life will not prove so great a good as the breaking of God's law will be an evil.

For the true determining of this case we must distinguish of Persons, Places and Occasions. 1. Between those whose lives are needful to the public good and safety, and those that are not of any such concernment. 2. Between those

* William Ames (1576–1633), author of *De Conscientia*, was forbidden to preach by the Bishop of London, but was held in great esteem by the Puritans. He removed to Rotterdam, where he died.

that are in an enemies or a strange country, and those that are in their own. 3. Between those that are in a Common wealth, and those that are either in a community, or among people not embodied or conjoined. 4. Between those that take but that which the refuser was bound to give them, and those that take that which he was not bound to give them : And so I answer :

1. Whensoever the preservation of the life of the taker is not in open probability like to be more serviceable to the common good than the violation of the right of Propriety will be hurtful, the taking of another man's goods is sinful, though it be only to save the taker's life. For the common good is to be preferred before the good of any individual.

2. In ordinary cases the saving of a man's life will not do so much good as his stealing will do hurt. Because the lives of ordinary persons are of no great concernment to the common good : And the violation of the Laws may encourage the poor to turn thieves, to the loss of the estates and lives of others, and the overthrow of public peace and order. Therefore *ordinarily* it is a duty rather to dye than take another man's goods against his will, or without his consent.

3. But in case that the *Common good* doth apparently more require the preservation of the *person's life* than the preservation of *propriety* and keeping of the Law in that instance, it is then no sin (as I conceive) which may fall out in many instances.

As, 1. In case the King and his Army should march through a Neighbour-Prince's Countrey, in a necessary War against their enemies : If food be denied them in their march, they may take it rather than perish. 2. In

case the King's Army in his own Dominions, have no pay, and must either disband or die, if they have not provision, they may rather take free quarters, in case that their obedience to the King and the preservation of the country forbiddeth them to disband. 3. When it is a *person* of so great honour, dignity and desert, as that his worth and serviceableness will do more than recompence the hurt : As if Alexander, or Aristotle were on Shipboard with a covetous Shipmaster, who would let them die rather than relieve them. 4. When a child taketh meat from a cruel parent that would famish him, or a wife from such a cruel husband. Or any man taketh his *Own* by stealth from another who unjustly detaineth it, when it is to save his life. For here there is a fundamental right *ad rem*, and the heynousness of his crime that would famish another rather than give him his *own* or his *due* doth take off the scandal and evil consequence of the manner of *taking* it. 5. But the greatest difficulty is in case that only the common law of humanity and charity bind another to give to one that else must die, and he that needeth may take it so secretly that it shall in likelihood never be known, and so never be scandalous, nor encourage any other to steal ? May not the needy then steal to save his life ? This case is so hard that I shall not venture to determine it : But only say that he that doth so in such a case must resolve when he hath done to repay the owner if ever he be able (though it be but a piece of bread), or to repay him by his labour and service, if he have no other way, and be thus able ; or if not so, to confess it to him that he took it from, and acknowledge himself his debtor (unless it be to one whose cruelty would abuse his confession).

Question 2 : *If another be bound to relieve me, and do not,*

may I not take it, though it be not for the immediate saving of my life?

Answer : If he be bound only by God's law to relieve you, you must complain to God, and stay till he do you right, and not break his law and order, by righting yourself, in case you are not in the necessity aforesaid. If he be bound also by the law of man to relieve you, you may complain to the rulers and seek your right by their assistance, but not by stealth.

Question 3 : If another borrow or possess my goods or money, and refuse to pay me, and I cannot have law and justice against him, or am not rich enough to sue him, may I not take them if I have an opportunity?

Answer : If he turn your enemy in a time of war, or live under another Prince, with whom you are at war, or where your Prince alloweth you to take it, there it seemeth undoubtedly lawful to take your own by that law of arms, which then is uppermost. But when the law that you are under forbiddeth you the case is harder. But it is certain that propriety is in communities, and is in order of nature antecedent to humane government in republics : and the preservation of it is one of the ends of government. Therefore I conceive that in case you could take your own so secretly, or in such a manner as might no way hinder the ends of government as to others, by encouraging thievery or unjust violence, it is not unlawful before God, the end of the law being the chief part of the law. But when you cannot take your own without either encouraging theft or violence in others, or weakening the power of the laws and government by your disobedience (which is the ordinary case) it is unlawful : Because the preservation of order and of the honour of the government and laws, and

the suppression of theft and violence is much more necessary than the righting of yourself, and recovering your own.

Question 4 : *If another take by theft or force from me, may I not take my own again from him, by force or secretly, when I have no other way ?*

Answer : Not when you do more hurt to the Commonwealth by breaking law and order, than your own benefit can recompence. For you must rather suffer, than the Commonwealth should suffer : But you may, when no such evils follow it.

Question 5 : *If I be in no necessity myself, may I not take from rich men to give the poor who are in extream necessity ?*

Answer : The answer to the first case may suffice for this : In such cases wherein a poor man may not take it for himself you may not take it for him. But in such cases as he may take it for himself and no one else is fit to do it, he himself being unable, you may do it (when no accidental consequences forbid you).

Question 6 : *If he have so much as that he will not miss it ; and I be in great want, though not like to dye of famine, may I not take a little to supply my want ?*

Answer : No : because God hath appointed the means of just propriety ; and what is not gotten by those means is none of yours by his approbation. He is the giver of riches ; and he intends not to give to all alike : If he give more to others he will require more of them. And if he give less to you it is the measure which he seeth to be meetest for you ; and the condition in which your obedience and patience must be tried : And he will not take it well if you will alter your measure by forbidden means, and be carvers for yourselves, or level others.

Question 7 : *There are certain measures which humanity obligeth all men to grant to those in want, and therefore men take without asking : As to pluck an Apple from a tree, or as Christ's disciples, to rub the ears of Corn to eat : If a Nabal deny me such a thing, may I not take it ?*

Answer : If the laws of the land allow it you, you may : Because men's propriety is subjected to the Law for the common good. But if the law forbid it you, you may not : except when it is necessary to save your life, upon the terms expressed under the first question.

Question 8 : *May not a Wife or Child or Servant take more than a cruel Husband or Parent or master doth allow ? Suppose it be better meat or drink ?*

Answer : How far the wife hath a true propriety herself, and therefore may take it, dependeth on the Contract and the Laws of the Land ; which I shall not now meddle with. But for *Children* and *Servants*, they may take no more than the most cruel and unrighteous parents or masters do allow them, except to save their lives upon the conditions in the first case. But the servant may seek relief of the Magistrate, and he may leave such an unrighteous master. And the Child must bear it patiently as the cross by which it pleaseth God to try him : Unless that the Government of the parent be so bad, as to tend to his undoing : And then I think he may leave his Parents for a better condition (except it be when their own necessity obligeth him to stay and suffer for their help and benefit). For it is true that a Child oweth as much to his Parents as he can perform, by way of gratitude, for their good. But it is true also that a Parent hath no full and absolute propriety in his child as men have in their Cattle, But is made by nature their guardian for their benefit. And there-

fore when Parents would undoe their Children's souls or bodies, the Children may forsake them as being first forsaken by them, further than as they are obliged in gratitude to help them as is afore said.

Question 9 : *If a man do deserve to lose somewhat which he hath, by way of punishment, may I not take it from him ?*

Answer : Not unless the Law either make you a Magistrate or Officer to do it, or allow and permit it at the least : Because it is not *to you* that the forfeiture is made : Or if it be, you must execute the Law according to the Law, and not against it ; For else you will offend in punishing offences.

Question 10 : *But what if I fully resolve, when I take a thing in my necessity, to repay the owner, or make him satisfaction if ever I be able ?*

Answer : That is some extenuation of the sin, but no justification of the fact ; which is otherwise unjustifiable : Because it is still without his consent.

Question 11 : *What if I know not whether the owner would consent or not ?*

Answer : In a case where common custome and humanity alloweth you to take it for granted that he would not deny you (as to pluck a ear of Corn, or gather an herb for Medicine in his field) you need not scruple it : unless you conjecture that he is a *Nabal* and would deny you. But otherwise if you doubt of his consent, you must ask it, and not presume of it without just cause.

Question 12 : *What if I take a thing from a friend but in a way of jeast, intending to restore it ?*

Answer : If you have just ground to think that your friend would consent if he knew it, you will not be blameable : But if otherwise, either you take it for your own

benefit and use, or you take it only to make sport by. The former is theft, for all your jeast : The latter is but an unlawful way of jeasting.

Question 13 : *What if I take it from him, but to save him from hurting his body with it : As if I steal poyson from one that intended to kill himself by it : or take a sword from a drunken man, that would hurt himself ; or a knife from a melancholy man? Or what if it be to save another, as to take a madman's sword from him, who would kill such as are in his way ; or an angry man's that will kill another ?*

Answer : This is your duty according to the sixth Commandment, which bindeth you to *preserve* your Neighbour's life : So be it these conditions be observed : 1. That you keep not his sword for your benefit and advantage, nor claim a propriety in it : but give it his friends, or deliver it to the Magistrate. 2. That you do nothing without the Magistrate, in which you may safely stay for his Authority and help : But if two be fighting or thieves be robbing or murdering a man, or another's life be in present danger, you must help them without staying for the magistrate's Authority. 3. That you make not this a pretence for the usurping of Authority, or for resisting or deposing your lawful Prince or Magistrate or Parent, or Master, or of exercising your own will and passions against your Superiours ; pretending that you take away their swords to save themselves or others from their rage, when it is indeed but to hinder justice.

Question 14. *May I not then much more take away that by which he would destroy his own or other men's souls : As to take away Cards or Dice from Gamesters ; or heretical or seditious books ; or Play books and Romances, or to pull down*

Idols which the Idolaters do adore, or are instruments of Idolatry?

Answer : There is much difference in the cases, though the soul be more precious than the body : For, 1. Here there is supposed to be so much leisure and space as that you may have time to tell the Magistrate of it, whose duty primarily it is : Whereas in the other case it is supposed that so much delay would be a man's death. Therefore your duty is to acquaint the Magistrate with the sin and danger, and not to anticipate him, and play the Magistrate yourself. Or in the case of Cards and Dice and hurtful books, you may acquaint the persons with the sin, and persuade them to cast them away themselves. 2. Your taking away these instruments is not like to save them : For the love of the sin and the will to do it remaineth still : and the sinner will but be hardened by his indignation, against your irregular course of charity. 3. Men are bound to save men's *bodies* whether they will or not : because it may be so done : But no man can save another's soul against his will. And it is God's will that their salvation or damnation shall be more the fruit of their own *wills* than of any others. Therefore though it's possible to devise an instance, in which it is lawful to steal a poisonous book or idol from another (when it is done so secretly as will encourage no disobedience or disorder, nor is like to harden the sinner, but indeed to do him good, etc.), yet ordinarily all this is unlawful, for private men, that have no Government of others, or extraordinary interest in them.*

Question 15 : *May not a Magistrate take the subjects' goods when it is necessary for their own preservation?*

* A wife or near friend that is under no suspicion of alienating the thing to their own commodity, nor of ill designs, may go somewhat further in such cases, than an inferiour or a stranger.

Answer : I answered this question once heretofore in my "*Political Aphorisms*" : And because I repent of meddling with such subjects and of writing that Book, I will leave such cases hereafter for fitter persons to resolve.

Question 16 : *But may I not take from another for a holy use : As to give to the Church or maintain the Bishops? If David took the hallowed bread in his necessity, may not hallowed persons take common bread much more?*

Answer : If holy persons be in present danger of death, their lives may be saved as other men's on the terms mentioned in the first case. Otherwise God hath no need of theft or violence, nor must you rob the Laity to cloath the Clergy : But to do such evil on pretence of piety and good is an aggravation of the sin.



II.—GENERAL DIRECTIONS AND PARTICULAR CASES OF CONSCIENCE, ABOUT CONTRACTS IN GENERAL, AND ABOUT BUYING AND SELLING, BORROWING AND LENDING, USURY, ETC., IN PARTICULAR. [*Chap. xix.*]

TIT. I.—GENERAL DIRECTIONS AGAINST INJURIOUS BARGAINING AND CONTRACTS.

BESIDES the last Directions *Chap. 18* take these as more nearly pertinent to this case.

DIRECTION I.—*See that your hearts have the two great principles of Justice deeply and habitually innaturalized or radicated in them : viz. The true Love of your neighbour,*

and the Denyal of yourself : which in one precept are called, The Loving of your neighbour as yourself. For then you will be free from the Inclination to injuries and fraud, and from the power of those temptations, which carry men to these sins. They will be contrary to your habitual will or inclination ; and you will be more studious to *help* your neighbour, than to get from him.

DIRECTION 2.—*Yet do not content yourself with these habits, but be sure to call them up to act, when ever you have any bargaining with others, and let a faithful Conscience be to you as a Cryer to proclaim God's Laws, and say to you, Now remember Love and Self-denial, and Do as you would be done by.* If Alexander Severus so highly valued this saying *Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris*, as to make it his Motto, and write and engrave it on his doors and buildings (having learned it of some Christians or Jews, saith *Lampridius*), What a crime and shame is it for Christ's own professed disciples neither to learn or love it. Put home the questions when you have any bargaining with others, How would I be dealt with myself, if my case were the same with his ?

DIRECTION 3.—*When the Tempter draweth you to think only of your own commodity and gain, remember how much more you will lose by sin, than your gain can any way amount to.* If *Acan, Gehezi, Ahab, Judas*, etc., had foreseen the end, and the greatness of their loss, it would have curbed their covetous desires. Believe God's Word from the bottom of your heart, that you shall lose things eternal if you sinfully get things temporal, and then you will not make haste to such a bargain to win the world and lose your souls.

DIRECTION 4.—*Understand your neighbours case aright,*

and meditate on his wants and interest. You think what you want yourself ; but you think not whether his wants with whom you deal, may not be as great as yours : Consider what his commodity costs him : or what the toil of the workman's labour is : What house rent he hath to pay, and what a family to maintain ? and whether all this can be well done, upon the rates that you desire to trade with him. And do not believe every common report, of his riches, or of the price of his commodity ; For same in such cases is frequently false.

DIRECTION 5.—*Regard the publick good above your own commodity.* It is not lawful to take up or keep up any oppressing monopoly or Trade ; which tends to enrich you by the loss of the Common-wealth or of many.

DIRECTION 6.—*Therefore have a special regard to the Laws of the countrey where you live : both as to your Trade itself, and as to the price of what you sell or buy.* For the law is made for the publick benefit, which is to be preferred before any private mans. And when the Law doth directly or indirectly, set rates upon labours or commodities, ordinarily they must be observed ; or else you will commit two sins at once Injury and Disobedience.

DIRECTION 7.—*Also have special respect to the common estimate, and to the Market-price.* Though it be not alwayes to be our *Rule*, yet ordinarily it must be a considerable part of it, and of great regard.

DIRECTION 8.—*Let not imprudent thinking make you seem more covetous than you are.* Some imprudent persons cannot tell how to make their markets without so many words, even about a penny or a trifle, that it maketh others think them covetous, when it is rather want of it. The appearance of evil must be avoided. I have known some

that are ready to give a pound to a charitable use at a word, who will yet use so many words for a penny in their bargaining, as maketh them deeply censured and misunderstood. If you see cause to break for a penny or a small matter, do it more handsomely in fewer words, and be gone ! And do not tempt the seller to multiply words, because you do so.

DIRECTION 9.—*Have no more to do in bargaining with others, especially with censorious persons, than you needs must.* For in much dealing usually there will be much misunderstanding, offence, censure and complaint.

DIRECTION 10.—*In doubtful cases, when you are uncertain what is lawful, choose that side which is safest to the peace of your consciences hereafter ; though it be against your commodity, and may prove the losing of your right.*

TIT. 2.—CASES OF CONSCIENCE ABOUT JUSTICE IN CONTRACTS.

Question 1 : *Must I always do as I would be done by ? Or hath this Rule any Exceptions ?*

Answer : The Rule intendeth no more but that your just self-denial and love to others be duly exercised in your dealings with all. And 1., It supposes that your *own will* or desires be honest and just, and that God's law be their rule. For a *sinful will* may not be made the rule of your own actions or of other mens. He that would have another make him drunk, may not therefore make another drunk : And he that would abuse another man's Wife, may not therefore desire that another man would lust after or abuse his Wife. He that would not be instructed,

reproved, or reformed, may not therefore forbear the instructing or reproofing others. And he that would kill himself, may not therefore kill another. But he that would have no hurt done to himself injuriously should do none to others : And he that would have others do him good, should be as willing to do good to them.

2. It supposes that the matter be to be varied according to your various conditions. A Parent that justly desireth his child to obey him, is not bound therefore to obey his child ; nor the Prince to obey his subjects ; nor the Master to do all the work for his servants, which he would have his servants do for him. But you must deal by another, as you would (regularly) have them deal by you, if you were in their case, and they in yours. And on these terms it is a Rule of Righteousness.

Question 2 : *Is a Son bound by the contracts which his Parents or Guardians made for him in his infancy ?*

Answer : To some things he is bound, and to some things not. The Infant is capable of being obliged by another upon four accounts : 1. As he is the Parents own (or a Masters to whom he is in absolute servitude). 2. As he is to be Ruled by the Parents. 3. As he is a *Debtor* to his Parents for benefits received. 4. As he is an expectant or capable of *future benefits* to be enjoyed upon conditions to be performed by him. 1. No Parents or Lord have an *Absolute Propriety* in any rational creature ; but they have a *propriety secundum quid*, & *ad hoc* : And a Parents propriety doth in part expire or abate, as the Son groweth up to the full use of reason, and so hath a greater propriety in himself. Therefore he may oblige his Son only (on this account) so far as his propriety extendeth, and to such acts ; and to no other : For in those his Will

is reputatively his Sons will. As if a Parent sell his Son to servitude, he is bound to such service as beseemeth one man to put another to. 2. As he is Rector to his Child, he may by contract with a third person promise that his child shall do such acts, as he hath power to command and cause him to do : As to read, to hear God's Word, to labour as he is able : But this no longer than while he is under his Parent's Government : And so long Obedience requireth him to perform their contracts, in performing their commands. 3. The child having received his Being and maintenance from his Parents, remaineth obliged to them as his Benefactors in the debt of gratitude as long as he liveth : And that so deeply that some have questioned whether ever he can requite them : (which *quoad valorem beneficii* he can do only by furthering their salvation, as many a child hath been the cause of the parents conversion.) And so far as the Son is thus a debtor to the Parents, he is obliged to do that which the Parents by contract with a third person shall impose upon him. As if the Parents could not be delivered out of captivity, but by obliging the Son to pay a great summ of money, or to live in servitude for their release : Though they never gave him any money, yet he is bound to pay the sum, if he can get it, or to perform the servitude : Because he hath received more from them, even his being. 4. As the parents are both *Owners (secundum quid)* and *Rulers* and Benefactors to their child, in all three respects conjunct, they may oblige him to a *third* person who is willing to be his Benefactor, by a conditional obligation to perform such conditions that he may possess such or such benefits. And thus a guardian or any friend who is fit to interpose for him may oblige him. As to take a *lease* in his name,

in which he shall be bound to pay such a rent, or do such a service, that he may receive such a commodity which is greater. Thus Parents oblige their children under Civil Governments to the Laws of the Society or Kingdom, that they may have the protection and benefits of subjects. In these cases the child can complain of no injury, for it is for his benefit that he is obliged. And the Parent (in this respect) cannot oblige him to his hurt : For if he will quit the benefit, he may be freed when he will from his obligation, and may refuse to stand to the Covenant if he dislike it. If he will give up his lease, he may be disobliged from the Rent and service.

In all this you may perceive that no man can oblige another against God or his salvation : And therefore a Parent cannot oblige a child to sin, nor to forbear hearing or reading the Word of God, or praying, or anything necessary to his salvation : Nor can he oblige him to hear a Heretical Pastor, nor to marry an Infidel or wicked Wife, etc.

And here also you may perceive on what grounds it is that God hath appointed Parents to oblige their children in the Covenant of Baptism, to be the servants of God, and to live in holiness all their dayes.

And hence it is apparent, that no parents can oblige their children to be miserable, or to any such condition which is worse than to have no being.

Also that when Parents do (as commonly they do) profess to oblige their children as Benefactors for their good, the obligation is then to be interpreted accordingly. And the child is then obliged to nothing which is really his hurt.

Yea, all the *Propriety* and *Government* of Parents, cannot

authorize them to oblige the child to his hurt, but in order to some greater good, either to the Parents themselves, or to the Commonwealth, or others : at least that which the Parents apprehend to be a greater good. But if they err through ignorance or partiality, and bind the child to a greater hurt for their lesser good (as to pay £200 to save them from paying £100) whether their injury and sin do excuse the child from being obliged to any more than the proportion of the benefit required, I leave undetermined.

Question 2 : *But what if the Parents disagree, and one of them will oblige the child, and the other will not ?*

Answer 1 : If it be an act of the Parents as meer Proprietors for their own good, either of them may oblige him in a just degree ; because they have severally a propriety. 2. If it be an act of Government (as if they oblige him to do this or that act of service at their command in his minority), the Father may oblige him against the Mother's consent, because he is the chief Ruler ; but not the Mother *against the Father's will*, though she may *without it*.

Question 3 : *Is a man obliged by a contract which he made in ignorance or mistake of the matter ?*

Answer : I have answered this before in the case of marriage *Part 3, Chap. I.*—I add here :

1. We must distinguish between culpable and inculpable error : 2. Between an error about the principal matter, and about some smaller accidents or circumstances. 3. Between a case where the law of the land or the common good interposes, and where it doth not.

1. If it be your own fault that you are mistaken, you are not wholly freed from the obligation : But if it was your *gross fault*, by *negligence* or *vice*, you are not at all freed : But if it were but such a frailty as almost all men are lyable

to, so that none but a person of extraordinary virtue or diligence could have avoided the mistake, then equity will proportionably make you an abatement or free you from the obligation. So far as you were obliged to understand the matter, so far you are obliged by the contract ; especially when another is a loser by your error.

2. An inculpable error about the *circumstances*, or *smaller parts*, will not free you from an obligation in the *principal* matter : But an inculpable error in the *essentials* will.

3. Except when the law of the land or the common good doth otherwise over-rule the case : For then you may be obliged by that accident. In divers cases the Rulers may judge it necessary, that the effect of the contract shall depend upon the bare words, or writings, or actions ; lest false pretences of misunderstanding should exempt deceitful persons from their obligations ; and nothing should be a security to contractors. And then men's private commodity must give place to the Law and to the publick good.

4. Natural infirmities must be numbered with faults, though they be not moral vices, as to the contracting of an obligation, if they be in a person capable of contracting. As, if you have some special defect of memory, or ignorance of the matter which you are about, Another who is no way faulty by over-reaching you, must not be a loser by your weakness. For he that cometh to the market, or contracteth with another who knoweth not his infirmity, is to be supposed to understand what he doth, unless the contrary be manifest : You should not meddle with matters which you understand not : Or if you do, you must be content to be a loser by your weakness.

5. Yet, in such cases, another that hath gained by the bargain, may be obliged by the laws of equity and charity to remit the gain, and not to take advantage of your weakness : But he may so far hold you to it, as to secure himself from *loss* : except in cases where you become the object of his charity, and not of commutative justice only.

Question 4 : *Is a drunken man, or a man in a transporting passion, or a melancholy person, obliged by a contract made in such a case ?*

Answer : Remember still, that we are speaking only of Contracts about matters of profit or worldly interest : and not of marriage, or any of another nature. And the Question as it concerneth a man in Drunkenness or Passion, is answered as the former about *culpable error* : And as it concerneth a *melancholy* man, it is to be answered as the former question, in the case of *natural infirmity*. But if the melancholy be so great as to make him incapable of bargaining, he is to be esteemed in the same condition as an idiot, or one in delirium or distraction.

Question 5 : *But may another hold a man to it, who in drunkenness or passion maketh an ill bargain, or giveth or playeth away his money, and repenteth when he is sober ?*

Answer : He may (ordinarily) take the money from the loser, or him that casteth it thus away : But he may not keep it for himself : But if the loser be poor, he should give it to his Wife or Children whom he robbeth by his sin : If not, he should either give it to the Magistrate or Overseer for the poor, or give it to the poor himself. The reason of this determination is ; Because the loser hath parted with his propriety, and can lay no further claim to the thing : But yet the gainer can have no right from anothers *crime* : If it were from an *injury*, he might ; so far

as is necessary to reparations : But from a *crime* he cannot : For his loss is to be estimated as a mulct or penalty, and to be disposed of as such mulcts as are laid on Swearers and Drunkards are. Only the person by his voluntary bargain hath made the other party instead of the Magistrate, and authorized him (in ordinary cases) to dispose of the gain, for the poor or publick good.

Question 6 : *Am I obliged by the words or writings which usually express a Covenant, without any Covenanting or self-obliging intention in me, when I speak or write them ?*

Answer : Either you utter or write those words, with a purpose to make another believe that you intend a Covenant; or at least by culpable negligence, in such a manner as he is bound so to understand you, or justified for so understanding you : or else you so use the words, as in the manner sufficiently to signify that you intend no Covenant or self-obligation. In the former case you bind yourself (as above said) : Because another man is not to be a loser, nor you a gainer or a saver by your own fraud or gross negligence. But in the latter case you are not bound : Because an intent of self-obliging is the internal efficient of the obligation : and a *signification* of such an intent is the external efficient, without which it cannot be. If you read over the words of a bond, or repeat them only in a Narrative, or ludicrously ; or if a Scrivener write a form of obligation of himself to a boy for a Copy, or to a Scholar for a president, these do not induce any obligation in Conscience, nor make you a debtor to another. (Thus also the case of the Intent of the Baptizer, or Baptized, or parents, is to be determined).

Question 7 : *May a true man promise money to a robber, for the saving of his life, or of a greater sum or more precious commodity ?*

Answer : Yes, in case of necessity, when his life or estate cannot better be preserved. And so taxes may be paid to an *Enemy* in arms, or a plundering Souldier (supposing that it do no other hurt, which is greater than the good). Any man may part with a lesser good to preserve a greater : And it is no more voluntary or imputable to our wills, than the casting of our goods into the Sea to save the vessel and our lives.

Question 8 : *May I give money to a Judge or Justice or Court-officer, to hire him to do me justice, or to keep him from doing me wrong, or to avoid persecution.*

Answer : You may not, in case your cause be bad, give anything to procure injustice against another ; nor speak a word for it nor desire it : This I take as presupposed. You may not give money to procure justice, when the Law of the Land forbiddeth it, and when it will do more hurt accidentally to others, than good to you : when it will harden men in the sin to bribery ; and cause them to expect the like from others. But except it be, when some such accidental greater hurt doth make it evil, it is as lawful as to hire a thief not to kill me ; when you cannot have your right by other means, you may part with a smaller matter for a greater.

Question 9 : *But if I make such a contract, may the other lawfully take it of me ?*

Answer : No : for it is now supposed that it is unlawful on his part.

Question 10 : *But if under necessity or force, I promise money to a robber or a Judge or Officer, am I bound to perform it when necessity is over ?*

Answer : You have lost your own propriety by your covenant, and therefore must not retain it : But he can

acquire no right by his sin ; and therefore some say that in point of justice you are not bound to give it him, but to give it to the magistrates for the poor : But yet *Prudence* may tell you of other reasons *a fine* to give it the man himself, though *Justice* bind you not to it : As in case that else he may be revenged and do you some greater hurt : or some greater hurt is any other way like to be the consequence ; which it is lawful by money to prevent. But many think that you are bound to deliver the money to the Thief or Officer himself ; because it is a lawful thing to do it, though he have no just title to it ; and because it was your meaning, or the signification of your words in your Covenant with him ; And if it were not lawful to do it, it could not be lawful to promise to do it : otherwise your promise is a lye. To this those of the other opinion say, “ that as a man who is discharged of his promise by him that it was made to, is not to be accounted false if he perform it not ; so is it as to the Thief or Officer in question ; because he, having no right, is to you as the other that hath quit his right. And this answer indeed will prove that it is not strict injustice not to pay the money promised : but it will not prove that it is not a lie to make such a promise with an intent of not-performing it, or that it is not a lie to make it with an intent of performing it, and not to do it when you may. Though here a Jesuite will tell you that you may say the words of a promise, with an equivocation or mental reservation, to a Thief or persecuting Magistrate : (Of which see more in the chapters of Lying, Vowes, and Perjury.) I am therefore of Opinion that your promise must be sincerely made, and, according to the true intent of it, you must offer the money to the Thief or Officer, except in case the Magistrate forbid you, or some greater

reason lye against it, which you foresaw not when you made the promise. But the offender is undoubtedly obliged not to take the money.

The same determination holdeth as to all contracts and promises made to such persons, who by injurious force constrained us to make them. There is on us an obligation to Veracity, though none to them in point of Justice, because they have no proper right ; nor may they lawfully take our payment or service promised them. And in case that the publick good unexpectedly cross our performance, we must not perform it. Such like is the case of *Conquerours*, and those that upon *conquest* become their vassals or subjects upon unrighteous terms. But still remember, that if it be not only a *Covenant with man*, but a *Vow to God*, which maketh him a party, the case is altered, and we remain obliged.

Question 11 : *But may I promise the Thief or Bribetaker to conceal his fault ? and am I obliged to the performance of such a promise ?*

Answer : This is a *promise of omitting* that which else would be a duty. It is ordinarily a duty to reveal a Thief and *bribe-taker* that he may be punished. But affirmatives bind not *ad semper* : no act (especially external) is a duty at all times : Therefore not this, of revealing an offenders fault. And if it be not *always a duty*, then it must be none when it is inconsistent with some *greater benefit or duty* : For when two goods come together, the greater is to be preferred. Therefore in case that you see in just probability, that the concealment of the sinner will do more hurt to the Common-wealth or the souls of men, than the saving of your life to do good, You may not *promise* to conceal him : or if you *sinfully promise* it, you may not

perform it. But in case that *your life* is like to be a *greater good* than the *Not promising to conceal him*, then such a *promise* is no fault ; because the disclosing him is no duty. But to judge rightly of this is a matter of great difficulty. If it be less than *life* which you save by such a promise, it oft falls out that it is a *lesser good* than the detecting of the offence.

But it will here be said, *If I promise not to conceal a Robber, I must conceal him nevertheless ; for when he hath killed me, I cannot reveal him ; and I must conceal the bribe-taker ; for till I have promised secrecy, I cannot prove him guilty. And he that promiseth to forbear a particular good action whilst he liveth, doth yet reserve his life, for all other good works ; whereas if he dye he will neither do that nor any other.* But this case is not so easily determined. If *Daniel* dye he can neither pray nor do any other good on earth. And if he live he may do much other good, though he never pray. And yet he might not promise to give over praying, to save his life. I conceive that we must distinguish of duties essential to the outward part of Christianity, or of constant indispensable necessity ; and duties which are alterable, and belong only to some persons, times and places : Also between the various consequents of omissions. And I conceive that ordinarily a man may promise, for the saving of his life, that he will forbear a particular alterable duty, or relation : As to read such a Commentary, to speak with such a Minister, to be a Magistrate or a Minister, etc., in case we have not before bound ourselves never to give over our Calling till death, And in case that the good which will follow our forbearance is likely (to a judicious person), to be greater than the evil. But no man may promise to omit such a duty as God

hath made necessary during life : as not to love God, or fear or trust him : not to Worship him and call upon him and praise him : nor to do good to men's souls or bodies in the general : or, not to Preach or Pray while I am a Minister of Christ ; or not at all to Govern while you are a Governour. For all these contradict some former and greater promises or duties. Nor may you omit the smallest duty to save your life, at such a time when your death is like to do more good than your life would do without that one duty. Apply this to the present case.

Question 12 : *If another man deceive me into a promise or Covenant against my good, am I bound to perform it, when I have discovered the deceit?*

Answer : Yes, 1. In case that the law of the land, or other reasons for the *publick good* require it : 2. Or in case that you were faulty by negligence, heedlessness, or otherwise guilty of your own deceit, in any considerable and avoidable degree. Otherwise, in that measure that he deceived you, and in those respects, you are not obliged.

Question 13 : *If the contracting parties do neither of them understand the other, is it a covenant? or, if it be, whose sense must carry it?*

Answer : If they understand not each other in the Essentials of the Contract, it is no contract, in point of Conscience : except where the Laws, for the publick safety, do annex the obligation to the bare external act. But if they understand not one another in some circumstances, and be equally culpable or innocent, they must come to a new agreement in those particulars : But if one party only be guilty of the misunderstanding, he must bear the loss, if the others insist on it.

Question 14 : *Am I bound to stand to the bargain which*

my friend, or trustee or servant maketh for me, when it proveth much to my injury or loss ?

Answer : Yes ; 1. If they exceed not the bounds of that commission or trust, which they received from you : 2. Or if they do, yet if by your former trusting and using them, or by any other sign, you have given the other party sufficient cause to suppose them entrusted by you to do what they do, so that he is deceived by your fault, you are bound at least to see that he be *no loser* by you ; though you are not bound to make him a *gainer*, unless you truly signified that you authorized them to make the contract. For if it be merely your friends or servants error, without your fault, it doth not bind you to a third person. But how far you may be bound to pardon that error to your friend or servant, is another question ; and how far you are bound to save them harmless. And that must be determined by laying together all other obligations between them and you.

Question 15 : *If I say, I will give such or such a one this or that, am I bound thereby to do it ?*

Answer : It is one thing to express your present mind and resolution, without giving away the liberty of changing it : And its another thing to intend the *obliging* of yourself to do the thing mentioned, and that obligation is either intended to *man*, or to God only ; and that is either in point of rendition and use, or in point of *veracity*, or the performance of that moral duty of speaking truth. If you meant no more, in saying, *I will do it*, or *I will give it*, but that this is your present Will, and purpose and resolution, yea, though it add the confident persuasion that your will shall not change ; yet this no further obligeth you, than you are obliged to continue in that will : And a

man's confident resolutions may lawfully be changed upon sufficient cause. But if you intended to alienate the title to another, or to give him present right, or to oblige yourself for the future *to him* by that promise, or to oblige yourself to God to do it by way of peremptory assertion, as one that will be guilty of a lie if you perform it not ; or if you dedicate the thing to God by those words as a Vow, then you are obliged to do accordingly (supposing nothing else to prohibit it).

Question 16 : *Doth an inward promise of the mind, not expressed, oblige ?*

Answer : In a vow to God it doth : And if you intend it as an assertion obliging you in point of veracity, it doth so oblige you, that you must not lie. But it is no contract, nor giveth any man a title to what you tacitly thought of.

Question 17 : *May I promise an unlawful thing (simply so) without an intention of performing it, to save my life from a thief or persecutor ?*

Answer : No : Because it is a lye, when the tongue agreeth not with the heart. Indeed those that think a lye is no sin, when it hurteth not another, may justify this, if that would hold good : But I have before confuted it.—*Tom. i.* in the chapter against Lying.

Question 18 : *May anything otherwise unlawful become a duty upon a promise to do it ?*

Answer : This is answered before *Tom. i.* Chapter of Perjury and Vows : a thing simply unlawful will be so still, notwithstanding a vow or promise : And some say so of that also which is unlawful antecedently but by accident. As *e.g.* It is not simply unlawful to cast away a cup of Wine or a piece of Silver (for it is lawful upon a sufficient cause). But it is unlawful to do it *without* any sufficient

cause. Now suppose I should contract with another that I will do it ; am I bound by such a contract ? Many say, *No*, because the *matter* is unlawful, though but by accident ; and the contract cannot make it lawful. I rather think that I am bound in such a case : But yet that my obligation doth not excuse me wholly from sin. It was a sin before I promised it (or Vowed it) to cast away a farthing causelessly. And if I causelessly promised it, I sinned in that promise : But yet there may be cause for the performance. And if I have entangled myself in a necessity of sinning whether I do it or not, I must choose the lesser sin : for that is then my duty (Though I should have chosen *neither*, as long as I could avoid it). In a great and hurtful sin, I may be obliged rather to break my Covenant, than to commit it, yet it is hard to say so of every accidental evil. My reasons are, 1. Because the Promise or Covenant is now an accident, to be put into the balance, and may weigh down a lighter accident on the other side : (But I know that the great difficulty is to discern which is indeed the preponderating accident.) 2. I think if a Magistrate command me to do anything which by a small accident is evil (as to spend an hour in vain, to give a penny in vain, to speak a word which, antecedently, was vain) that I must do it ; and that then it is not vain, because it manifesteth my obedience : (Otherwise obedience would be greatly straightened). Therefore my *own Contract* may make it my duty : because I am able to oblige myself as well as a Magistrate is. 3. Because Covenant-breaking (and Perjury) is really a greater sin, than speaking a vain word : And my error doth not make it no sin ; but only entangle me in a necessity of sinning which way soever I take.

Question 19 : *If a man make a contract to promote the sin*

of another for a reward, as a corrupt Judge, or Lawyer, Officer or Clerk to promote injustice ; or a resetter to help a thief ; or a Bawd or Whore, for the price of fornication ; may I take the reward, when the sin is committed (suppose it repented of)?

Answer : The offender that promised the reward, hath parted with his title to the money : Therefore you may receive it of him (and ought, except he will rightly dispose of it himself :) But withal to confess the sin, and persuade him also to repent : But you may not take any of that money as your own : (For no man can purchase true propriety by iniquity). But either give it to the party injured (to whom you are bound to make satisfaction), or to the Magistrate or the poor, according as the case particularly requireth.

Question 20 : If I contract, or bargain, or promise to another, between us two, without any legal form or witness, doth it bind me to the performance ?

Answer : Yes, in *foro conscientiæ*, supposing the thing lawful. But if the thing be unlawful in *foro Dei*, and such as the Law of the land only would lay hold of you about, or force you to, if it had been witnessed, then the Law of the Land may well be avoided, by the want of legal forms and witnesses.

Question 21 : May I buy an office for money in a Court of Justice ?

Answer : Some offices you may buy (where the law alloweth it, and it tends not to injustice) : But other Offices you may not : The difference the Lawyers may tell you better than I, and it would be tedious to pursue instances.

Question 22 : May one buy a place of Magistracy, or Judicature for money ?

Answer : Not when your own honour or commodity is your end : Because the common good is end of Govern-

ment ; and to a faithful Governor, it is a place of great labour and suffering, and requireth much self denial and patience. Therefore they that purchase it as a place of honour, gain or pleasure, either know not what they undertake, or have carnal ends : Else they would rather purchase their liberty and avoid it. But if a King, or Judge, or other Magistrate see that a bad man (more unfit to Govern) is like to be put in, if he be put by, it is lawful for him to purchase the peoples deliverance at a very dear rate ; (even by a lawful War which is more than money, when the Sovereign's power is in such danger). But the Heart must be watcht, that it pretend not the common good, and intend your own commodity and honour : And the probable consequences must be weighed : And the Laws of the Land must be consulted also : For if they absolutely prohibit the buying of a place of Judicature they must be obeyed. And ill effects may make it sinful.*

Question 23 : *May one sell a Church-benefice, or Rectory or Orders ?*

Answer : If the Benefice be *originally* of your own gift, it is at first in your power to give part or all ; to take some deductions out of it or not. But if it be already given to the Church, and you have but the Patronage or choice of the Incumbent, it is sacrilege to sell it for any commodity of your own : But whether you may take somewhat out of a greater Benefice, to give to another Church which is poorer, depends partly on the law of the land, and partly upon the probable consequences. If the *Law absolutely forbid it* (supposing that unlawful contracts cannot be avoided unless some lawful ones be restrained), it must be obeyed,

* Whether the consequent good or hurt is like to be greater, must be well considered.

for the common good : And if the *consequents* of a lawful contract be like to be more hurtful encouragement of unlawful ones, such examples must be forborn, though the law were not against them. But to sell Orders is undoubted Simony : (That is, the *Office* of the *Ministry*, or the *act of Ordination* :) though Scribes may be paid for writing instruments.

Question 24 : *May a man give money for Orders or Benefices, when they cannot otherwise be had ?*

Answer : 1. This is answered in *Quest.* 22. 1. If the law absolutely forbid it for the common safety, you may not. 2. If the consequences are likely to be more hurt than the benefit will recompense, you may not : 3. If your end be chiefly your own commodity, ease, or honour, you may not. But in case you were clear from all such evils, and the case were only this : Whether you might not give money to get in yourself, to keep out a Heretick, a Wolf, or insufficient man, who might destroy the peoples souls, I see not but it might well be done.

Question 25 : *May I give money to Officers, Servants, or Assistants for their furtherance ?*

Answer : For Writings or other servile acts about the circumstantials you may : But not (directly or indirectly) to promote the Simoniackal contract. What you may not give to the principal agent, you may not give his instruments or others for the same end. .

Question 26 : *May I give or do anything afterward by way of gratitude, to the Patron, Bishop, or any others, their relations, or retainers ?*

Answer : Not when the expectation of that Gratitude, was a (secret or open) condition of the Presentation or Orders : and you believe that you should not else have

received them : Therefore *promised Gratitude* is but a kind of contracting. Nor may you shew Gratitude by any scandalous way, which seemeth Simony. Otherwise, no doubt, but you may be prudently grateful for that or any other kindness.

Question 27 : *May not a Bishop or Pastor take money for Sermons, Sacraments, or other offices ?*

Answer : Not for the things themselves : He must not sell God's word or Sacraments, or any other holy thing. But they that serve at the Altar, may live on the Altar, and the Elders that rule well are worthy of double honour : And the mouth of the Ox that treadeth out the corn should not be muzzled ? They may receive due maintenance while they perform God's service, that they may be vacant to attend their proper work.

Question 28 : *May one person disoblige another of a promise made to him ?*

Answer : Yes, if it be no more than a promise to that person : Because a man may give away his right. But if it be moreover a Vow to God, or you intend to oblige your self in point of Veracity under the guilt of a lye if you do otherwise, these alter the case, and no person can herein disoblige you ?

Question 29 : *But what if the contract be bound by an oath, may another then release me ?*

Answer : Yes, if that oath did only tye you to perform your promise, and were no Vow to God which made him a party, by dedicating anything to him. For then the Oath being but subservient to the promise, he that dischargeth you from the promise, dischargeth you also from the Oath which bound you honestly to keep it.

Question 30 : *Am I bound by a promise when the cause or reason of it proveth a mistake ?*

Answer : If by the *Cause* you mean only the extrinsical Reasons which moved you to it, you may be obliged nevertheless for finding your mistake : Only, so far as the other was culpable cause (as is aforesaid), he is bound to satisfy you : But if by the *Cause* you mean the *formal reason*, which constituteth the contract, then the mistake may in some cases nullifie it (of which enough before).

Question 31 : *What if a following accident make it more to my hurt, than could be forseen ?*

Answer : In some Contracts it is supposed or expressed, that men do undertake to run the hazard : And then they must stand obliged. But in some contracts, it is rationally supposed that the parties intend to be free, if so great an alteration should fall out. But to give instances of both these Cases would be too long a work.

Question 32 : *What if something unexpectedly fall out, which maketh it injurious to a third person ? I cannot sure be obliged to injure another ?*

Answer : If the case be the latter mentioned in the foregoing answer, you may be thus free : But if it be the former (you being supposed to run the hazard, and secure the other party against all others) then either you were indeed authorized to make this bargain or not : If not, the third person may secure the right against the other : But if you were, then you must make satisfaction as you can to the third person. Yea, if you made a Covenant without authority, you are obliged to save the other harmless, unless he knew your power to be doubtful, and did resolve to run the hazard.

Question 33 : *What if somewhat fall out which makes the performance to be a sin ?*

Answer : You must not do it : But you must make the

other satisfaction for all the loss which you were the cause of, unless he undertook to stand to the hazard of this also, (explicitly or implicitly).

Question 34 : *Am I obliged if the other break Covenant with me ?*

Answer : There are Covenants which make Relations (as between Husband and Wife, Pastor and Flock, Rulers and Subjects), and Covenants which convey title to commodities, of which only I am here to speak. And in these there are some *Conditions* which are essential to the covenant : If the other first break these conditions, you are disobliged. But there are other conditions which are not essential, but only necessary to some following benefit : whose non-performance will only forfeit that particular benefit : And there are conditions which are only undertaken subsequent duties, trusted on the honesty of the performer : And in these a failing doth not disoblige you. These latter are but improperly called Conditions.

Question 35 : *May I contract to perform a thing which I foresee is like to become impossible or sinful before the time of performance come, though it be not so at present ?*

Answer : With all persons you must deal *truly* ; and with just contractors, openly : But with Thieves, and Murderers, and Persecutors, you are not always bound to deal openly. This being premised, either your Covenant is absolutely, *This I will do, be it lawful or not, possible or impossible* : And such a Covenant is sin and folly : Or it is *Conditional, This I will do, if it continue lawful, or possible*. This condition (or rather Exception) is still implied where it is not expressed, unless the contrary be expressed : Therefore such a Covenant is lawful with a Robber with whom you are not bound to deal openly : Because it is

but the concealing from him the event which you foresee. As e.g. you have intelligence that a Ship is lost at Sea, or is like to be shortly taken by Pyrates, which the Robber expecteth shortly to come safe into the harbour : You may promise him to deliver up yourself his prisoner, when that Ship cometh home. Or you know a person to be mortally sick, and will dye before the next Week ; you may oblige yourself to marry or serve that person two months hence : For it is implied, If he or she be then alive. But with equal contractors, this is unlawful, with whom you are obliged not only to Verity, but to justice ; as in the following cases will be further manifested.

TIT. 3.—*SPECIAL CASES ABOUT JUSTICE IN BUYING AND SELLING.*

Question 1 : *Am I bound to endeavour that he whom I deal with, may be a gainer by the bargain as well as I ?*

Answer : Yes, if you be equally in want ; or in the like condition. But if he be very poor, and you be rich, Charity must be so mixed with justice, that you must endeavour that it be more to his commodity than yours (if he be indeed one that you owe Charity to). And if you be poor, and he be rich, you may be willing to be the only gainer yourself, so be it you covet not anothers nor desire that he be wronged : For when he hath power to deal charitably, you may be willing of his charity or kindness.

Question 2 : *May I desire, or take more than my labour or goods are worth, if I can get it ?*

Answer : 1. Not by deceit, persuading another that they are worth more than they are. 2. Not by extortion

working upon men's ignorance, error or necessity (of which more anon). 3. Not of any one that is poorer than yourself, or of anyone that intendeth but an equal bargain. 4. But if you deal with the rich, who in generosity or liberality stick not at a small matter, and are willing another should be a gainer by them, and understand what they do, it is lawful to take as much as they will give you.

Question 3 : *May I ask in the market more than my goods are truly worth ?*

Answer : In the case last mentioned you may ; when you are selling to the Rich who are willing to show their generosity, and to make you gainers : But then the honest way is to say, It is worth but so much ; but if you will give so much more because I need it, I will take it thankfully. Some think also where the common custome is to ask more than the worth, and people will not buy unless you come down from your first demand, that then you may lawfully ask more, because else there is no trading with such people. My judgement in this case is this.

1. That ordinarily it is better to ask no more at all than a just gain : And that the inconveniences of doing otherwise are greater than any on the other side : For he that heareth you *ask unjustly*, may well think that you would *take unjustly* if you could get it, and consequently that you are *unjust*.
2. But this just gain lyeth not always just in an indivisible quantity, or determinate price. A man that hath a family to maintain by his trade, may lawfully take a proportionable moderate gain : Though if he take less he may get something too. To be alwayes just at a word, is not convenient : For he that may lawfully get two or three shillings or more in the pound of the rich, may see cause to let a poorer person have it for less : But never ask

above what its reasonable to take. 3. And if you once peremptorily say, *I will take no less*, then it is not fit to go from your word. 4. And if you do meet with such fools or proud gallants, who will not deal with you unless you ask dear, it is just that, when they have given you more than it is worth, you tell them so, and offer them the over-plus again. And for them that expect that you abate much of your asking, it is an inconvenience to be born, which will be ever to your advantage when you are once better known.

Question 4 : *How shall the worth of a commodity be judged of?*

Answer : 1. When the Law setteth a rate upon anything (as on bread and drink with us) it must be observed. 2. *If you go to the Market*, the Market-price is much to be observed. 3. If it be in an equal contract, with one that is not in want, you may estimate your goods as they cost you, or are worth to you, though it be above the common price ; seeing the buyer is free to take or leave them. 4. But if that which you have to sell, be extraordinary desirable, or worth to some one person, more than to you or another man, you must not make too great an advantage of his convenience or desire ; but be glad that you can pleasure him, upon equal, fair and honest terms. 5. If there be a secret worth in your commodity which the Market will take no notice of (as it is usual in a Horse), it is lawful for you to take according to that true worth, if you can get it. But it is a false Rule of them, that think their commodity is worth as much as anyone will give.

Question 5 : *Is it lawful to make a thing seem better than it is, by trimming, adorning or setting the best side outward or in sight ; or to conceal the faults of what I am to sell?*

Answer : It is lawful to dress, polish, adorn or set out your commodity, to make it seem *as it is indeed*, but not to make it seem *better* than it is ; except in some very few unusual cases : As if you deal with some fantastical fool, who will not buy it, nor give you the true worth except it be so set out, and made in some respects to seem better than it is. It is lawful so far to serve their curiosity or humour, as to get the worth of your commodity. But if you do it to get more than the worth by deceiving, it is a sin. And such glossing hath so notable an appearance of deceit, that for that scandal it should be avoided.

2. And as for *concealing* the fault the case is the same : You ought not to deceive your neighbour, but to do as you would be done by : And therefore must not conceal any fault which he desireth, or is concerned to know : Except it be when you deal with one who maketh a far greater matter of that fault than there is cause, and would wrong you in the price if it were known : Yea, and *that exception* will not hold neither, except in a case when you must needs sell, and they must buy it : Because 1. You may not have another man's money against his will, though it be no more than the thing is worth. 2. Because it will be scandalous when the fault is known by him that buyeth it.

Question 6 : *What if the fault was concealed from me when I bought it, or if I was deceived or over-reacht by him that sold it me, and gave more than the worth, may I not repair my loss by doing as I was done by ?*

Answer : No : no more than you may cut another's purse, because yours was cut : You must do as you would be done by, and not as you *are* done by. What you may do with the same man that deceived you, is a harder question :

But doubtless you may not wrong an honest man, because you were wronged by a knave.

Object : *But it is taken for granted in the Markets, that every man will get as much as he can have, and that Caveat emptor is the only security ; and therefore every man trusteth to his own wit, and not to the sellers honesty, and so resolveth to run the hazard.*

Answer : It is not so among Christians, nor Infidels who profess either truth or common honesty. If you come among a company of Cut-purses, where the match is made, Look thou to thy purse and I will look to mine, and he that can get most let him take it, then indeed you have no reason to trust another. But there are no Tradesmen or Buyers who will profess that they look not to be trusted, or will say, I will lye and deceive you if I can. Among Thieves and Pirats such total distrust may be allowed. But among sober persons in Civil Societies and Converse, we must in reason and charity expect some truth and honesty, and not presume them to be all lyars and deceivers, that we may seem to have allowance to be such ourselves. Indeed we trust them, not absolutely as Saints, but with a mixture of distrust, as fallible and faulty men : And so as to trust our own circumspection above their words when we know not the persons to be very just. But we have no cause to make a Market a place of meer deceit, where every one saith, Trust not me, and I will not trust thee, but let us all take one another for cheaters and liars, and get what we can. Such censures savour not of Charity, or of Just intentions.

Question 7 : *What if I foresee a plenty and cheapness in a time of dearth, which the buyer foreseeth not (as if I know that there are ships coming in with store of that commodity, which*

will make it cheap) am I bound to tell the buyer of it, and hinder my own gain?

Answer : There may be some instances in trading with enemies, or with Rich men, that regard not such matters, or with men that are supposed to know it as well as you, in which you are not bound to tell them. But in your ordinary equal trading, when you have reason to think that the buyer knoweth it not, and would not give so dear if he knew it, you are bound to tell him : Because you must love your neighbour as yourself, and do as you would be done by, and not take advantage of his ignorance.

Question 8 : If I foresee a dearth, may I not keep my commodity till then?

Answer : Yes ; unless it be to the hurt of the Common wealth, as if your keeping it in, be the *cause* of the dearth, and your bringing it forth would help to prevent it.

Question 9 : May one use many words in buying and selling?

Answer : You must use no more than are true, and just, and useful : but there are more words needful with some persons who are talkative and unsatisfied, than with others.

Question 10 : May I buy as cheap as I can get it, or give less than the thing is worth?

Answer : If it be worth more to you than the Market price (through your necessity) you are not bound to give above the market price : If it be worth less to you than the market price, you are not bound to *give* more than it is *worth to you*, as suited to your use : But you must not *desire* nor *seek* to get anothers goods or labour for less than it is worth in both these respects (in common estimate, and to you).

Question 11 : May I take advantage of anothers Necessity

to buy for less than the worth, or sell for more? As, e.g., a poor man must needs have money suddenly for his goods, though he sell them but for half the worth : and I have no need of them : Am I bound to give him the worth when I have no need? and when it is a great kindness to him to give him any thing in that straight? So also when I have no desire to sell my Horse, and anothers necessity maketh him willing to give more than he is worth, may I not take it?

Answer : To the first case : You must distinguish between an act of *Justice* and of *Charity* : and between your *need* of the thing, and the *worth* of it to you. Though you have no *need* of the poor mans goods, yet if you buy them, both *Justice* and *Charity* require that you give him as much as they are *worth to you*, though not so much as they are worth in the market : yea, and that you buy them of him in his necessity : For if you give him but what they are *worth to you*, you are no *loser* by it : And you should do another good, when it is not to your hurt or loss. By what they are worth to you, I mean so much as that you be no loser. As if it be meat or drink, though you have no present need, perhaps you will shortly have need, and if you buy not that, you must buy as much of somewhat else. In *strict Justice* you may be a *saver*, but not a *gainer*, by buying of the poor in their necessity. 2. But if you buy a *durable commodity*, for less than it is worth, you should take it but as a *pledge*, and allow the seller liberty to redeem it, if he can, that he may get more after of another. 3. And to the *poor* in such necessity, *Charity* must be exercised as well as *Justice*. Therefore if you are able to lend them money to save them the loss of underselling, you should do it : (I account that man only *able* who hath money which no greater service of God requireth). And

if you are not able yourself, you should endeavour to get some others to relieve him, if you can without a greater inconvenience.

And for the second case, it is answered before : You may not take more than it is worth, ever the more for anothers necessity ; nor in any other case than you might have done it in, if there had been no such necessity of his.

Question 12 : *May I not make advantage of anothers ignorance or error in bargaining ?*

Answer : Not to get more than your commodity is worth, nor to get his goods for less than the worth ; no nor to get the true worth against *his will*, or with *scandal* : But if it be only to get a true worth of your commodity when he is willing, but would be offended if his ignorance in some point were cured, you may so far make use of his ignorance to a lawful end, as is said before in the case of *concealing faults*.

Question 13 : *May I strive to get before another, to get a good bargain which he desireth ?*

Answer : Yes, if you do it not out of a greedy mind, nor to the injury of one that is poorer than yourself : You should rather further the supply of your neighbours greater needs : Otherwise speed and industry in your Calling is no fault, nor yet the crossing of a covetous mans desires : You are not bound to let every man have what he would have ?

Question 14 : *May I buy a thing out of anothers hand, or hire a servant, which another is about, or is treating with ? Or may I call a Chapman from another to buy of me ?*

Answer : There are some cases in which you may not do it, and some in which you may. You may not do it out of greedy covetousness ; nor to the injury of the poor : nor when the other hath gone so far in the bargain that it

cannot be honestly broken : For then you injure the third person, and tempt the other to a sin : nor may you do it so as to disturb that due and civil order, which should be among moderate men in trading. And it is a great matter how the thing is accounted of by the custome of the country or market where you bargain : For where it is of ill report, and accounted as unjust, the scandal should make you avoid such a course. But yet in some cases it is *lawful*, and in some a *needful duty*. It is *lawful* when none of the foresaid reasons (or any such other) are against it : It is a *duty* when *Charity* to the poor or oppressed doth require it. As, e.g., a poor man must needs sell his Land, his Horse, his Corn or Goods : A Covetous oppressor offereth him less than it is worth. The poor man must take his offer if he can get no more : The oppressor saith that it is injustice for anyone to take his bargain out of his hand, or offer money till he have done : In this case it may be a *duty*, to offer the poor man the worth of his commodity, and save him from the oppressor. A covetous man offereth a *Servant* or *Labourer* less than their service or labour is worth ; and will accuse you, if you interrupt his bargain and would offer his *Servant* more : In this case it may be your duty to help the servant to a better Master. A Chapman is ready to be cheated by an unconscionable Tradesman, to give much more for a commodity than its worth : Charity may oblige in such case to offer it him cheaper. In a word, if you do it for your own gain, in a greedy manner, it is a sin : But if you do it when it is not scandalous or injurious, or do it in charity for anothers good, it is lawful, and sometime a duty.

Question 15 : *May I dispraise anothers commodity, to draw the buyer to my own ?*

Answer : This case is sufficiently answered in the former :

1. You may not use any *false* dispraise :
2. Nor a *true one* out of Covetousness, nor in a scandalous manner ;
3. But you may help to save another from a Cheater, by opening the deceit in charity to him.

Question 16 : *What should I do in doubtful cases, where I am uncertain whether the thing be just or not ?*

Answer : Causeless perplexing melancholy scruples, which would stop a man in the course of his duty, are not to be indulged. But in rational doubts, first use your utmost diligence (as much as the nature of the cause requireth) to be resolved : and if yet you doubt, be sure to go the safer way, and to avoid sin rather than loss : and to keep your consciences in peace.

Question 17 : *If the buyer lose the commodity between the bargain and the payment (as if he buy your Horse, and he die before payment or presently after) what should the seller do to his relief ?*

Answer : If it were by the sellers fault, or by any fault in the Horse which he concealed, he is to make the buyer full satisfaction. If it were casualty only, rigorous Justice will allow him nothing : And therefore, if it be either to a man that is Rich enough to bear it without any great sense of the loss, or in a case where in common custom the buyer always standeth to the loss, mere justice will make him no amends. But if it be where custom maketh some abatement judged a duty, or where the person is so poor as to be pinched by the loss, that common humanity, which all good men use in bargaining, which tempereth Justice with Charity, will teach men to bear their part of the loss, because they must do as they would be done by.

Question 18 : *If the thing bought and sold prove afterward of much more worth than was by either party understood (as in buying of amber-chryse, and Jewels, it oft falleth out) is the buyer bound to give the seller more than was bargained for ?*

Answer : Yes, if it was the sellers meer ignorance and insufficiency in that business, which caused him so to undersell it : (As if an ignorant Countrey man sell a Jewel or *Amber-chryse*, who knoweth not what it is, a moderate satisfaction should be made him). But if it was the sellers trade, in which he is to be supposed sufficient, and if it be taken for granted before hand, that both buyer and seller will stand to the bargain whatever it prove, and that the seller would have abated nothing if it had proved less worth than the price, then the buyer may enjoy his gain : Much more if he run any notable hazard for it, as merchants use to do.

Question 19 : *What if the title of the thing sold prove bad, which was before unknown ?*

Answer : If the seller either knew it was bad, or through his notable negligence was ignorant of it, or did not fully acquaint the buyer with so much of the uncertainty and danger as he knew ; or if it was anyway his fault that the buyer was deceived, and not the buyers fault, he is bound to make him proportionable satisfaction. As also in case that by Law or bargain he be bound to warrant the title to the buyer. But not in case that it be their explicite or implicate agreement that the buyer stand to the hazard, and the seller hath done his duty to make him know whats doubtful.

Question 20 : *What if a change of Powers or Laws do overthrow the title, almost as soon as it is sold (as it oft falls out about Offices and Lands)? Who must bear the loss?*

Answer : The case is near the same with that in *Quest.* 17. It is supposed that the seller should have lost it himself if he had kept it but a little longer : And that neither of them foresaw the change : And therefore that the seller hath all his money, rather for his good hap, than for his Lands or Office (which the buyer hath not). Therefore except it be to a rich man that feeleth not the loss, or one that expressly undertook to stand to all hazards, foreseeing a possibility of them, Charity and humanity, will teach the seller to divide the loss.

The same is the case of *London* now consumed by fire : where thousands of suits are like to rise between the Landlords and the Tenants. Where the providence of God (permitting the burning zeal of some Papists), hath deprived men of the houses which they had hired or taken leases of, humanity and charity requireth the Rich to bear most of the loss, and not to exact their Rents, or Rebuilding from the poor, whatever the Law saith, which could not be supposed to foresee such accidents. Love your neighbours as yourselves : Do as you would be done by ; and Oppress not your poor brethren ; and then by these three Rules you will yourselves decide a multitude of such doubts and difficulties, which the uncharitable only cannot understand.

TIT. 4.—CASES OF CONSCIENCE ABOUT LENDING AND BORROWING.

Question 1 : *May a poor man borrow money, who knoweth that he is unable to repay it, and hath no rational proof that he is very likely to be able hereafter ?*

Answer : No : unless it be when he telleth the lender truly of his case, and he is willing to run the hazard. Else it is meer thievery covered with the cheat of borrowing. For the borrower desireth that of another, which he would not lend him, if he expected it not again : And to take a man's money or goods against his will, is robbery.

Object : *But I am in great necessity.*

Answer : Begging in necessity is lawful : but stealing or cheating is not, though you call it borrowing.

Object : *But it is a shame to beg.*

Answer : The sin of thievish borrowing is worse than shame.

Object : *But none will give me, if I beg.*

Answer : If they will give but to save your life at the present, you must take it, though they give you not what you would have. The poorest beggars life is better than the thieves.

Object : *But I hope God may enable me to pay hereafter.*

Answer : If you have no rational way to manifest the soundness of that hope to another, it is but to pretend faith and hope for thievery and deceit.

Object : *God hath promised that those that fear him shall want no good thing, and therefore I hope I may be able to repay it?*

Answer : If you want not, Why do you borrow ? If you have enough to keep you alive by begging, God maketh good all his promises to you : Yea, or if you dye by famine. For he only promiseth you that which is best ; which for ought you know may be beggery or death. God breaketh not promise with his servants who die in common famine, no more than with them that dye in Plagues or Wars. Make not God the Patron of sin, Yea, and your faith a

pretence for your distrust. If you trust God, use no sinful means. If you trust him not, this pleading of his promise is hypocrisy.

Question 2 : *May a tradesman drive a trade with borrowed money, when his success and so his repayment is utterly an uncertain thing?*

Answer : There are some Trades where the gain is so exceeding probable, next to certain, as may warrant the borrowing of money to manage them, when there is no rational probability of failing in the payment. And there are some Tradesmen, who have estates of their own, sufficient to repay all the money which they borrow. But otherwise when the money is rationally hazardous, the borrower is bound in conscience to acquaint the lender fully with the hazard, that he may not have it against his will. Otherwise he liveth in constant deceit or thievery. And if he do happen to repay it, it excuseth not his sin.

Question 3 : *If a borrower be utterly unable to pay, and so break while he hath something, may he not retain somewhat for his food or rayment.*

Answer : No : unless it be in order to set up again in hope to repay his debt. For all that he hath being other mens, he may not take so much as bread to his mouth, out of that which is theirs, without their consent.

Question 4 : *But if a man have bound himself to his Wives friends upon marriage to settle so much upon her or her children, and this obligation was antecedent to his debts, may he not secure that to his Wife and Children, without any injury to his Creditors?*

Answer : The law of the Land must much decide this controversie. If the *propriety* be actually before transferred to wife or children, it is theirs, and cannot be taken

from them : But if it be done after by a deed of gift to defraud the Creditors, then that deed of gift is invalid, till debts be paid. If it be but an *Obligation* and no collation of propriety, the law must determine who is to be first paid : and whether the wife be supposed to run the hazard of gaining or losing with the husband. And though the Laws of several Countreys herein differ, and some give the Wife more propriety than others do, yet must they in each place be conscientiously observed, as being the rule of such propriety. But we must see that there be no fraudulent intent in the transaction.

Question 5 : *May not a broken tradesman retain somewhat to set up again, if his creditors be willing to compound for a certain part of the debt ?*

Answer : If he truly acquaint them with his whole estate, and they voluntarily allow him part to himself, either in charity, or in hope hereafter to be satisfied, this is no unlawful course. But if he hide part from them, and make them believe that the rest is all, this is but a thievish procurement of their composition or consent.

Question 6 : *May a borrower lawfully break his day of promised payment, in case of necessity ?*

Answer : True necessity hath no Law : that is, a man is not bound to do things naturally impossible. But if he might have foreseen that necessity, or the doubtfulness of his payment at the day, it was his sin to promise it, unless he put in some limitation, If I be able, and acquainted the lender with the uncertainty. However it be, when the time is come, he ought to go to his Creditor, and tell him of his necessity, and desire further time, and endeavour to pay it as soon as he is able : and if he be not

able, to make him what satisfaction he can, by his labour or any other lawful way.

Question 7 : *May I borrow of one to pay another, to keep my day with the first ?*

Answer : Yes, if you deal not fraudulently with the second, but are able to pay him, or acquaint him truly with your case.

Question 8 : *Suppose that I have no probability of paying the last creditor, may I borrow of one to pay another, and so live upon borrowing ; or must I rather continue in one man's debt ?*

Answer : If you truly acquaint your Creditors with your state, you may do as is most to your convenience. If the first Creditor be able and willing rather to trust you longer, than that you should borrow of another to pay him, you may continue his debtor, till you can pay him without borrowing. But if he be either poor or unwilling to bear with you, and another that is able be willing to venture, you may better borrow of another to pay him. But if they be all equally unwilling to stand to any hazard by you, then you must rather continue in the first man's debt, because if you wrong another you will commit another sin. Nay, you *cannot* borrow in such a case, because it is supposed that the other will not lend, when he knoweth your case. And you must not at all conceal it from him.

Object : *But it may be my ruin to open my full state to another.*

Answer : You must not live upon cheating and thievery to prevent your ruine. And what can it be less, to get another man's money against his will? And it is against his will, if you hide your case, which if he knew he would not lend it to you.

Object : *But what if I tell him plainly, that I will pay him certainly by borrowing of another, though I cannot pay him of mine own, and though I be not like to pay the last?*

Answer : If you truly thus open your case to everyone that you borrow of, you may take it, if they will lend it : For then you have their consent : And it is supposed, that everyone is willing to run the hazard of being the last Creditor.

Question 9 : *May I lend upon Pledges, Pawns or Mortgages for my security?*

Answer : Yes, so you take not that from a poor man for a pledge, which is necessary to his livelihood and maintenance : As the bed which he should lye on, the clothes which he should wear, or the tools which he should work with ; and be not cruel on pretence of mercy.

Question 10 : *May I take the forfeiture and keep a pledge or Mortgage upon Covenants?*

Answer : If it be among Merchants and rich men, an act of Merchandize, and not of meer security for money lent, then it is another case : As if they make a bargain thus, Take this Jewel or this Land for your money ; and it shall be yours if I pay you not by such a day : I am willing to stand to the hazard of uncertainty : If I pay you not, suppose it is for my own commodity, and not through disability. In this case it is lawful to take the forfeiture, or detain the thing. But if it be properly but a *pledge* to secure the money, then the final intent is but that your money may be repaid : And you may not take the advantage of breaking a day, to take that from another which is none of your own. Justice will allow you only to take so much as your money came to, and to give the overplus (if there be any) to the debtor. And mercy will require

you rather to forgive the debt, than to keep a pledge which he cannot spare but to his ruin and misery (as his food, his raiment, his tool, his house, etc.), Unless you be in as great necessity as he.

Question 11 : *May I take the bond or promise of a third person as security for my money ?*

Answer : Yes ; in case that other be *able* and *willing* to be responsible : For you have his own consent. But great caution should be used that you take no man that is insufficient, from whom mercy forbiddeth you to take it in case the principal debtor fail ; unless you take his suretiship but *in terrorem*, resolving not to take it of him : And also that you faithfully tell the sureties that you must require it of them in case of non-payment, and therefore try whether indeed they are truly willing to pay it. For if they be such as truly presume that you will not take it of them, or will take it ill to be sued for it, you should not take their suretiship, unless you purpose not to seek it (except in necessity).

Question 12 : *Is it lawful to lend upon usury, interest or increase ?*

Answer : This controversie hath so many full Treatises written on it, that I cannot expect that so few words as I must lay out upon it should satisfy the studious reader. All the disputes about the *name* of *Usury* I pass by : It being *The receiving of any additional gain as due from money lent* which is commonly meant by the word, and which we mean in the question. For the questions, whether we may bargain for it, or tie the debtor to pay it ? whether we may take it only after his gain as partaking in it, or before ? whether we must partake also in the loss if the debtor be a loser ? with other such like, are but sub-

sequent to the main question, *Whether any gain* (called *Use*) may be taken by the lender as his due for the money lent? My judgement is as followeth.

1. *There is some such gain or Usury lawful and commendable.*
2. *There is some such gain or usury unlawful and a heinous sin.*

I shall first give my reasons of the first proposition.

1. If all *Usury* be forbidden it is either by the Law of Nature, or by some positive law of supernatural revelation. If the latter, it is either by some Law of Moses, or by some Law of Christ: If the former, it is either as against the Rule of Piety to God, or against Justice or Charity to men. That which is neither a violation of the Natural Laws of Piety, Justice or Charity, nor against the supernaturally revealed Laws of Moses or of Christ, is not unlawful. But there is some Usury which is against none of all these. *Ergo* there is some Usury which is not unlawful.

I will first lay you down the instances of such usury, and then prove it. There is a parcel of Land to be sold for a thousand pound, which is worth forty pound *per annum*, and hath Wood on it worth a thousand pound: (Some such things we have known). *John N.* is willing to purchase it. But he hath a poor neighbour, *T.S.* that hath no money, but a great desire of the bargain. *J.N.* loving his neighbour as himself and desiring his wealth, lendeth him the thousand pound upon usury for one year. *T.S.* buyeth the land, and selleth the wood for the same money, and repayeth it in a year, and so hath all the land for almost nothing, as if *J.N.* had purchased the land and freely given it him, after a year or two: The gift had been the same.

Object : *Here you suppose the seller wronged by selling his land almost for nothing.*

Answer : 1. Thats nothing at all to the present case, but a different case by itself : 2. I can put many cases in which such a sale may be made without any wrong to the seller : As when it is done by some Prince, or State, or Noble and liberal person, purposely designing the enriching of the subjects ; or after a war, as lately in *Ireland*. So that the question is, whether *J.N.* may not give *T.S.* a thousand or eight hundred pounds worth of land, taking a years rent first out of the land, or a years use for the money, which cometh to the same summ.

Another : A Rich Merchant trading into the *East Indies*, having five thousand pound to lay out upon his commodities in Traffick, when he hath laid out four thousand five hundred pound, lendeth in charity the other five hundred pound to one of his servants to lay out upon a commodity, which when it cometh home will be worth two thousand pound, and offereth him to secure the carriage with his own, requiring only the *Use* of his money at 6 *per cent*. Here the taking of thirty pound *Use*, is but the free giving him one thousand four hundred and seventy pound, and is all one with deducting so much of the gift.

Another instance : Certain Orphans having nothing left them but so much money as will, by the allowed use of it, find them bread and poor clothing. The guardian cannot lay it out in Lands for them, And if he maintain them upon the stock, it will be quickly spent, and he must answer for it. A rich man that is their neighbour tradeth in Iron-works, (Furnaces and Forges) or Lead works or other such commodities, in which he constantly getteth the double of the stock which he employeth, or at least

twenty pound or forty pound in the hundred. The Guardian dare not lend the money to any poor man, lest he break and never be able to pay it : Therefore he lendeth it this rich man. And, if he have it without Usury, the poor Orphans give the rich man freely twenty pound or forty pound a year supposing their stock to be an hundred : If he take usury, the rich man doth but give the poor Orphans some part of his constant gain.

Another instance : In a City or Corporation where there is a rich Trade of Clothing or making Silks, there is a stock of money given by Legacy for the poor, and entrusted into the hands of the richest of the City, to trade with and give the poor the Use of it : And there is another stock left to set up young beginners, who have not a stock to set up themselves, on condition that they give the third part of their gain to the poor, and at seven years end resign the stock. The question is, Whether the poor should be without this use of their money, and let the rich go away with it ? or whether they may take it ?

Now I prove that such Usury is not forbidden by God. 1. It is not forbidden *us* by the Law of *Moses* : 1. Because *Moses* Law never did forbid it : For, 1. It is expressly forbidden as an act of unmercifulness ; and therefore forbidden only to the poor and to brethren, *Exod.* xxii. 25, *Levit.* xxv. 36, 37. Yea, when the *poor* are not named, it is the poor that are meant : * Because in that Countrey they did not keep up stocks for Merchandise or Trading, but lent usually to the needy only : At least the circumstances of the several Texts shew, that it is only *Lending to the needy*, and not lending to drive on any enriching Trade, which is meant where Usury is forbidden. 2. And it is

* *Exod.* xxii. 21. Thou shalt neither vex a stranger nor oppress him. *Exod.* xxiii. 9. Thou shalt not oppress a stranger, etc. So that usury to a stranger was no oppression.

expressly allowed to be used to strangers, *Deut.* xxiii. 19, 20, to whom nothing unjust or uncharitable might be done ; only such a *measure* of Charity was not required towards them as unto brethren. And there were more merchants of strangers that traded with them in foreign commodities, than of Jews that fetcht them home : So that the prohibition of Usury is in the Law itself restrained only to their lending to *the poor*. But in the *Prophets* who do but reprove the sin, it is expressed without that limitation, partly because it supposeth the meaning of the law to be known, which the *Prophets* did but apply : and partly because there was little or no lending used among the Jews, but to the needy as an act of charity.

2. And if it had been forbidden in *Moses* Law only, it would not extend to Christians now, Because the law of *Moses as such*, is not in force. The matter of it is much of the law of Nature indeed ; but, as *Mosaical*, it was proper to the Jews and Proselytes, or at least extended not to the Christian Gentiles, as is plain in *II. Cor.* iii. 7, *Gal.* iii. 19, 24, and v. 3. *Eph.* ii. 15, *I. Tim.* i. 7, *Heb.* vii. 12, 16, 19. *Moses* Law as such never bound any other Nations, but the proselytes that joyned themselves to the Jews (nor was all the world obliged so to be proselyted as to take up their laws). Much less do they bind us that are the servants of Christ, so long after the dissolution of their Common-wealth. So much of them as are part of the Law of Nature, or of any positive Law of Christ, or of the Civil Law of any State, are binding as they are such *Natural, Christian* or *Civil Laws*. But not one of them as *Mosaical* : Though the *Mosaical* Law is of great use to help us to understand the law of nature in many particular instances, in which it is somewhat difficult to us.

2. There is no *Positive* law of *Christ* forbidding all

usury : As for *Luke* vi. 32, 35, it is plainly nothing to the case : For he saith not, *Lend, looking for no gain or increase*, but *looking for nothing again*. And the Context sheweth that the meaning must be one of these two : Either q.d., Lend not only to them that will lend to you again when you are in want, but even to the poor, that you can never hope to borrow of : Or else, Lend not only to them that are able to pay you, and where your stock is secured, but to the needy where your money is hazarded ; and though they will pay you if they are able, yet you have little or no hope that ever they should be able to repay : Lend so, as to be willing to make a gift of it in case the borrower never repay it. And there is no other text that can be pretended against it, in the New Testament.

3. And that the Law of Nature doth not forbid all usury, will appear by examining the several parts of it. The law of nature forbiddeth but three sorts of sins : 1. Those that are against Piety to God : 2. Those that are against *our own welfare*. 3. Those that are against our neighbours good : And that is, 1. Against *Justice* : 2. Against *Charity*. There is none that falleth not under some of these heads.

1. And that *Usury* is not naturally evil as against *Piety* to God,

2. Or as against our *selves*, and our own welfare, I need not prove, because no reason nor reasonable person doth lay any such accusation against it. Though they that think it absolutely unlawful, say that it is consequently against God, as every violation of his Law is. But thats nothing to the case.

3. Therefore there is no doubt but the whole controversie is resolved into this last question, whether all Usury be

against Justice or Charity to our neighbour. *Justice* obligeth me to give him *his own* : Charity obligeth me to give him more than his own, in certain cases, as one that love him as myself. That which is not against *Justice*, may be against *Charity* : But that which is against Charity, is not always against Justice strictly taken. And that which is an act of true Charity, is never against Justice : Because he that giveth his neighbour *more* than his own, doth give him *his own* and *more*. There is a *Usury* which is against *Justice* and *Charity*. There is a *Usury* which is against *Charity*, but not against meer *Justice* : And there is an *Usury* which is against neither *Justice* nor *Charity*. If I prove it *Charitable*, it is superfluous to say more.

All the instances before given are notoriously charitable. That which is for the preservation of the lives and comforts of the poor, and of Orphans, or for the enriching of my neighbour, is an act of Charity. But such is some *Usury*, past all doubt, as is before declared. Where the contrary is an act of cruelty, the *Usury* is not against Charity, but for it. For the Rich to deny to the poor and Orphans a part of that gain, which they make by the improvement of their own money, is oppression and cruelty. If it be cruel to let a beggar dye or starve, when we should feed and clothe him of our *own*, much more to let the poor and Orphans starve and perish rather than give them the increase of *their* own, or part of it at least. As for them that say, It may be as well improved otherwise, they are unexperienced men. It is a known falsehood as to the most ; though some few may meet with such opportunities. At least it is nothing to them that cannot have other wayes of improving it : who are very many.

Moreover, when it is *not an act of Charity*, yet it may be not against *Charity* in these cases :

1. When the lender is poor and the borrower rich : Yea, it may be a sin to lend it freely : *Prov. xxii. 16. He that oppresseth the poor to increase his riches, and he that giveth to the rich, shall surely come to want.* It is a giving to the rich to lend freely that money which they improve to the increase of their riches.

2. When the *lender* is not obliged to that act of *Charity*, though the borrower be poorer than himself. Which falleth out in an hundred cases, which may be comprised under this one general : *When the lender is obliged to expend that same money in some other greater, better work.* As at the same time while a man that is worth but twenty pound a year, is in debt to a man that hath a thousand pound a year, there may be a hundred or thousand poor people worth *nothing* ready to perish, whom the rich is rather bound to succour, than him that hath but twenty pound a year. And there may be works of piety (as to set up a School, or promote the preaching of the Gospel) which may be as great as either. And the richest that is, cannot do all the good that is to be done, nor relieve all the persons that are in want. Therefore when we must leave much undone, if he would give all his substance, it is (*cæteris paribus*) a sin to give that to a man that can make shift without it, and pass by an hundred in much deeper necessity and distress. So that he who either exerciseth *Charity* in his *Usury*, or doth nothing against *Charity* and *Justice*, certainly sinneth not by that *Usury*. For all the scriptures which speak against *Usury*, speak against it as a cruel or uncharitable thing.

Object : *But it is sometimes necessary for a law to forbid*

that which otherwise would be good, when it cannot be done without encouraging others to a greater evil, such as ordinary Usury is : And then that Law must be observed.

Answer : This is true *in thesi*, that such cases there are : But it is unproved and untrue in this case : For, 1. There is no such Law. 2. There is no such reason or necessity of such a law. For God can as well make laws against unrighteous or uncharitable *increase* or *Usury*, without forbidding that which is *charitable* and *just*, as he can make laws against *unrighteous* or *uncharitable buying* and *selling*, without condemning that which is good and just : Or as he can forbid gluttony, drunkenness, idleness, pride, without forbidding eating, drinking, *apparel* or *riches*. He can easily tell men of whom and in what case to take Use, and when not.

He that would see all other Objections answered, and the case fully handled, hath many Treatises on both sides extant to inform him.

II. That there is a sort of *Usury* which is evil I know of no man that doubteth, and therefore need not stand to prove.

Question : *When is usury sinful ?*

Answer : As is before said, When its against either Justice or Charity : 1. When its like cheating bargaining, which under pretence of *consent* and a form of Justice doth deceive, or oppress, and get from another that which is not truly *ours* but *his*. 2. When you lend for increase where charity obligeth you to lend freely : Even as it is a sin to lend expecting your own again, when *Charity* obligeth you to *give* it. 3. When you uncharitably exact that which your brother is disabled utterly to pay, and use cruelty to procure it, (be it the Use, or the principal). 4. When you allow him not such a proportion of the gain

as his labour, hazard or poverty doth require ; but because the money is yours, will live at ease upon his labours. 5. When in case of his losses you rigorously exact your due, without that abatement, or forgiving debts (whether *Use* or *principal*), which humanity and charity require. In a word, when you are *selfish* and do not as, according to true judgement, you may desire to be done by, if you were in his case.

Question : *But when am I bound to exercise this charity, in not taking use ?*

Answer : As I said before, 1. *When ever* you have no more urgent, and necessary, and excellent work, to lay out that money on, which you are so to receive. 2. Yea, though another work may be in itself better, (as to relieve many poorer better men with that money) yet when you cannot take it, without the utter undoing of the debtor, and bringing him into as bad a case, as any single person whom you would relieve, it is the safer side to leave the other unrelieved, (unless it be a person on whom the public good much dependeth) rather than to extort your own from such a one to give another. Because that which you cannot get, without a scandalous appearance of cruelty, is *quod jus in re* not yours to give, till you can better get possession of it. And therefore God will not expect that you should give it to another.

In all this I imply that as you must prefer the lives of others in giving Alms, before your own *conveniencies* and *comforts*, and must not say, *I cannot spare it*, when your *necessity* may spare it, though not your *pleasure* : So also in taking *Use* of those that you are bound to shew charity to, the same rule and proportions must be observed in your charity.

Note also, that in all this it appeareth, that the case is but gradually different, between taking the *Use* and taking the *principal*. For when the reason for remitting is the same you are as well bound to remit the principal as the use.

But this difference there is, that many a man of low estate may afford to lend freely to a poorer man for a little time, who cannot afford to give it. And prudence may direct us to choose one man to lend freely to for a time, because of his sudden necessity, when yet another is fitter to give it to.

Question 13 : *Is lending a duty ? If so, must I lend to all that ask me ? or to whom ?*

Answer : *Lending* is a duty, when we have it, and our brothers necessity requireth it, and true prudence telleth us that we have no better way to lay it out, which is inconsistent with that. And therefore rich men ordinarily should both lend and give as prudence shall direct. But there is an imprudent and so a sinful *lending* : As, 1. When you will lend that which is anothers, and you have no power to lend. 2. When you lend that which you must needs require again, while you might easily foresee that the borrower is not like to pay. Lend nothing but what you have either great probability will be repaid, or else which you are willing to give in case the debtor cannot or will not pay ; or, at least, when suing for it, will not have scandalous and worse effects than *not lending*. For it is very ordinary when you come to demand it and sue for it, to stir up the hatred of the debtor against you, and to make him your enemy, and to break his charity by your imprudent charity. In such a case, if you are obliged to relieve him, give him so much as you can spare, rather than lend him that which you cannot spare, but must sue for. In such cases, if

Charity go not without *Prudence*, nor *prudence* without charity, you may well enough see when to lend, and how much.

Question 14 : *Is it lawful to take upon usury in necessity, when the creditor doth unjustly or unmercifully require it ?*

Answer : Not in case that the consequence (by encouraging sin or otherwise) be like to do more hurt, than the money will do you good. Else, it is lawful, when it is for your benefit : As it is lawful to take part of your wages for your work, or part of the work of your commodity, when you cannot have the whole : And as it is lawful to purchase your rights of an enemy, or your life of a Thief as is aforesaid. A man may buy his own benefit of an unrighteous man.

Question 15 : *Doth not contracting for a certain sum of gain make usury to be in that case unlawful, which might lawfully be taken of one thats free.*

Answer : Yes, in case that *contracting determine an uncertain case without sufficient cause* : As if you agree, that whether the borrower gain or lose, and be poor or rich, I will have so much gain : that is, whether it prove merciful or unmerciful, I will have it. But then in that case, if it so prove unmerciful, it may not be taken *without contracting*, if freely offered. No contract may tie the debtor to that which is against justice or charity : And no contract may *absolutely* require that which *may prove* uncharitable ; unless there be a tacit condition, or exception of such a case implied. Otherwise I see no scripture or reason, why a contract altereth the case, and may not be used to secure that increase which is neither unrighteous not unmerciful : It may be the bond of equity, but not of iniquity. As, in case of a *certain gain by the*

borrower, a certain use may be contracted for. And in case of an uncertain gain to the borrower, a conditional contract may be made. Yea, in case of Merchandize, where mens poverty forbiddeth not such bargains, I see not but it is lawful to sell a greater uncertain gain, for a smaller certain gain; and so to make the contracts absolute: (As *Amesius Cas. Consc.* on this question sheweth). As all oppression and unmercifulness must be avoided, and all men must do as they would (judiciously) be done by; So it is a bad thing to corrupt religion, and fill the world with causeless scruples, by making that a sin which is no sin. Divines that live in great Cities and among Merchandize, are usually fitter judges in this case, than those that live more obscurely (without experience) in the Countrey.

TIT. 5.—CASES OF CONSCIENCE ABOUT LUSORY CONTRACTS.

Question 1: *Is it lawful to lay wagers upon the credit or confidence of one anothers opinions or assertions in discourse? As e.g. I will lay you so much that I am in the right?*

Answer: Yes, if these three things concurr: 1. That the true end of the wager is to be a penalty to him that shall be guilty of a rash and false assertion, and not to gratifie the Covetousness of the other. 2. That it be no greater a summ than can be demanded and paid, without breach of charity, or too much hurt to the loser (as above the proportion of his error). 3. That it be no other but what both parties are truly willing to stand to the loss of, if either of them lose: And that beforehand they truly seem so willing to each other.

Question 2 : *Is it lawful to lay Wagers upon Horse-races, Dogs, Hawks, Bear-baitings, or such Games as depend on the activity of Beast or Man ?*

Answer : Yes, upon the two last expressed conditions, and ; 3. That it be not an exercise which is itself unlawful, by cruelty to Beasts, or hazard to the lives of men (as in Fencing, Running, Wrestling, etc., it may fall out if it be not cautelously done :) or by the expence of an undue proportion of time in them, which is the common malignity of such recreations.

Question 3 : *May I lawfully give money to see such sports, as Bear-baitings, Stage-plays, Masks, Shews, Puppet-plays, Activities of Man or Beast ? etc.*

Answer : There are many Shews that are desirable and laudable, (as of strange Creatures, Monsters, rare Engines, Activities, etc.) the sight of which it is lawful to purchase, at a proportionable price : As a prospect thorough one of *Galilæus* tubes, or such another, is worth much money to a studious person. But when the exercise is unlawful (as all Stage-playes are that ever I saw, or had just information of ; yea, odiously evil ; however it is very possible that a Comoedy or Tragoedy *might* with abundance of cautions be lawfully acted), it is then (usually) unlawful to be a spectator either for money or on free cost. I say (usually) because its possible that some one that is *necessitated* to be there, or that goeth to find out their evil to suppress them, or that is once only induced to know the truth of them, may do it innocently : But so do not they, who are present voluntarily and approvingly. And if the recreation be lawful in itself, yet when vain persons go thither to feed a carnal fancy and vicious humour, which delighteth more in vanity, than they delight in piety,

and when it wasteth their time and corrupteth their minds, and alienateth them from good, or hindereth duty, it is to them unlawful.

Question 4 : *Is it lawful to play at Cards or Dice for money, or at any lottery?*

Answer : The greatest doubt is whether the games be lawful, many learned Divines being for the negative, and many for the affirmative: And those that are for the affirmative lay down so many necessities or conditions to prove them lawful, as I scarce ever yet saw meet together. But if they be proved at all lawful, the case of wagers is resolved as the next.

Question 5 : *May I play at Bowls, Run, Shoot, etc., or use such personal activities for money?*

Answer : Yes, 1. If you make not the Game itself bad by any accident: 2. If your Wager be laid for sport, and not for Covetousness (striving who shall get anothers money, and give them nothing for it). 3. And if no more be laid than is suitable to the sport, and the loser doth well and willingly pay.

Question 6 : *If the loser who said he was willing, prove angry and unwilling when it cometh to the paying, may I take it, or get it by Law against his will?*

Answer : No, no not in ordinary cases; because you may not turn a sport to covetousness, or breach of Charity: But in case that it be a sport that hath cost you anything you may in Justice take your *Charges*, when Prudence forbids it not.

TIT. 6.—CASES OF CONSCIENCE ABOUT LOSING
AND FINDING.

Question 1 : *If I find money or anything lost, am I bound to seek out the owner, if he seek not after me? And how far am I bound to seek him?*

Answer : You are bound to use such reasonable means as the nature of the case requireth, that the true owner may have his own again. He that dare keep another mans money, because he findeth it, its like would steal, if he could do it as secretly. Finding giveth you no propriety, if the owner can be found : Do as you would be done by, and you may satisfy your conscience. If nearer enquiry will not serve, you are bound to get it cryed in the Market, or proclaimed in the Church, or mentioned in the *Cur-ranto's* that carry weekly news ; or any probable way, which putteth you not upon unreasonable cost or labour.

Question 2 : *May I take anything for the finding of it, as my due?*

Answer : You may demand so much as shall pay for any labour or cost which you have been at about it, or finding out the owner ; But no more as your due : Though a moderate gratuity may be accepted, if he freely give it.

Question 3 : *May I desire to find money or anything else in my way? or may I be glad when I have found it?*

Answer : You should first be unwilling that your neighbour should *lose* it ; and be sorry that he hath lost it : But supposing that it be lost, you may moderately desire that you may find it rather than another : Not with a covetous desire of the gain ; but that you may faithfully gratify the owner in restoring it ; Or, if he cannot be found,

may dispose of it as you ought. And you should be *more* sorry that its lost, than glad that you find it, except for the owner.

Question 4 : *If no owner can be found, may I not take it and use it as mine own ?*

Answer : The laws of the Land do usually regulate claims of propriety in such matters : where the Law giveth it to the Lord of the Mannor, it is his, and you must give it him. Where it giveth it to no other, it is his that findeth it ; and occupancy will give him propriety. But so as it behoveth him to judge, if he be poor, that God's providence ordered it for his own supply ; but if he be rich, that God sent it him but as to his Steward, to give it to the poor.

Question 5 : *If many be present when I find it, may I not wholly retain it to myself ? or may I not conceal it from them if I can ?*

Answer : If the Law over-rule the case, it must be obeyed. But if it do not, you may if you can conceal it, and thereby become the only *finder*, and take it as your own, if the Owner be not found. But if you cannot conceal it at the time of finding, they that see it with you, are partly the finders as well as you ; though perhaps the largest share be due to the occupant.

Question 6 : *If I trust my neighbour or servant with money or goods, or if another trust me, who must stand to the loss if they be lost ?*

Answer : Here also the Law of the Land as regulating proprieties must be very much regarded ; and especially the true meaning of the parties must be understood. If it was antecedently the expressed or implied meaning that one party in such or such a case should bear the loss,

it must in strict justice be according to the true meaning of the parties. Therefore if a Carrier that undertaketh to secure it, loseth it, he loseth it to himself. Or if one that it is lent to on that condition (explicite or implicate) lose it, it is to himself. But if a friend to whom you are beholden for the carriage lose it, who undertook no more than to bestow his labour, the loss must be yours ; yea, though it was his negligence or drunkenness that was the fault : For you took him and trusted him as he is. But if a servant, or one obliged to do it by hire, do without any other agreement only undertake to serve you in it, and loseth it, the Law or custome of the Countrey is instead of a Contract : For if the Law or Custome lay the loss on him, it is supposed that he consented to it in consenting to be your servant : If it lay it on you, it is supposed that you took your servant on such terms of hazard. But if it be left undecided by Law and Custome, you may make your servant pay only so much as is a proportionable penalty for his fault, but no more, as any satisfaction for your loss : except you agreed with him to repay such losses as were by his default. And when it is considered what *strict Justice* doth require, it must also be considered what *Charity and mercy* doth require, that the poor be not oppressed.

III.—MOTIVES AND DIRECTIONS AGAINST OPPRESSION. [Chap. xx.]

OPPRESSION is the injuring of inferiours who are unable to resist or to right themselves : when men use power to bear down right. Yet all is not Oppression which is so called by the poor or by inferiors that suffer : For they are apt to be partial in their own cause as well as others. There may be injustice in the *expectations* of the poor, as well as in the *actions* of the rich. Some think they are oppressed if they be justly punished for their crimes : And some say they are oppressed if they have not their wills and unjust desires, and may not be suffered to injure their superiors : And many of the poor do call all that oppression, which they suffer from any that are above them, as if it were enough to prove it an injury, because a rich man doth it. But yet oppression is a very common and a heynous sin.

There are as many ways of *oppressing* others as there are advantages to men of power against them. But the principal are these following.

1. The most common and heinous sort is the malignant injuries and cruelties of the ungodly against men that will not be as indifferent in the matters of God and salvation as themselves ; and that will not be of their opinions in Religion, and be as bold with sin and as careless of their souls as they. These are hated, reproached, slandered, abused, and some way or other persecuted commonly wherever they live throughout the world. But of this sort of Oppression I have spoken before.

2. A second sort is the Oppression of the Subjects by their Rulers ; either by unrighteous Laws, or cruel executions, or unjust impositions or exactions, laying on the people greater Taxes, tributes or servitude than the common good requireth, and than they are able well to bear. Thus did *Pharaoh* oppress the Israelites till their groans brought down God's vengeance on him. But I purposely forbear to meddle with the sins of Magistrates.

3. *Souldiers* also are too commonly guilty of the most inhuman barbarous oppressions ; plundering the poor Countrey-men and domineering over them, and robbing them of the fruit of their hard labours, and of the bread which they should maintain their families with, and taking all that they can lay hold on as their own. But (unless it be a few that are a wonder in the world) this sort of men are so barbarous and inhuman that they will neither read nor regard any counsel that I shall give them. (No man describeth them better than *Erasmus*).

4. The Oppression of Servants by their masters I have said enough to before. And among us, where servants are free to change for better masters, it is not the most common sort of Oppression ; But rather servants are usually negligent and unfaithful, because they know that they are free : (Except in the case of *Apprentices*).

5. It is too common a sort of Oppression for the Rich in all places to domineer too insolently over the poor, and force them to follow their wills, and to serve their interest, be it right or wrong : So that it is rare to meet with a poor man that dare displease the rich, though it be in a cause where God and Conscience do require it. If a rich man wrong them, they dare not seek their remedy at law, because he will tire them out by the advantage of his

friends and wealth ; and either carry it against them, be his cause never so unjust, or lengthen the suit till he hath undone them, and forced them to submit to his oppressing will.

6. Especially unmerciful Landlords are the common and sore oppressors of the Countreymen. If a few men can but get money enough to purchase all the land in a County, they think that they may do with their own as they list, and set such hard bargains of it to their tenants that they are all but as their servants, yea, and live a more troublesome life than servants do : when they have laboured hard all the year they can scarce scrape up enough to pay their Landlord's rent. Their necessities are so urgent that they have not so much as leisure to pray Morning or Evening in their families, or to read the Scriptures, or any good Book ; nor scarce any room in their thoughts for any holy things. Their minds are so distracted with necessities and cares that even on the Lord's Day, or at a time of prayer, they can hardly keep their minds intent upon the sacred work which they have in hand. If the freest minds have much adoe to keep their thoughts in seriousness and order, in meditation, or in the worshipping of God, how hard must it needs be to a poor oppressed man, whose body is tired with wearisome labours, and his mind distracted with continual cares, how to pay his rent, and how to have food and raiment for his family ? How unfit is such a troubled discontented person to live in thankfulness to God, and in his joyful praises ? Abundance of the Voluptuous great ones of the world do use their Tenants and servants but as their Beasts, as if they had been made only to labour and toil for them, and it were their chief felicity to fulfil their will and live upon their favour.

DIRECTION 1.—The principal means to overcome this sin is to *understand the Greatness of it*. For the flesh persuadeth carnal men to judge of it according to their selfish interest, and not according to the interest of others, nor according to the true principles of charity and equity; and so they justify themselves in their oppression.

1. Consider That Oppression is a sin not only contrary to Christian Charity and Self denial, but even to Humanity itself. We are all made of one earth, and have souls of the same kind. There is as near a kindred betwixt all mankind as a specifical identity: As between one Sheep, one Dove, one Angel and another; As between several drops of the same water, and several sparks of the same fire, which have a natural tendency to Union with each other. And as it is an inhumane thing for one brother to oppress another, or one member of the same body to set up a proper interest of its own, and make all the rest, how painfully soever, to serve that private interest, So is it for those men who are children of the same Creator. Much more for them who account themselves members of the same Redeemer, and brethren in Christ by grace and regeneration, with those whom they oppress.—*Mal. ii. 10. Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us? Why do we deal treacherously every man against his brother by profaning the Covenant of our fathers? If we must not lie to one another, because we are members one of another.—Ephes. iv. 25; And if all the members must have the same care of one another.—I. Cor. xii. 25; Surely then they must not oppress one another.*

2. An Oppressor is an *Anti-Christ* and an *Anti-God*; He is contrary to God, who delighteth to do good, and whose bounty maintaineth all the world: Who is kind to

his enemies, and causeth his sun to shine, and his rain to fall on the just and on the unjust : and even when he afflicteth doth it as unwillingly, delighting not to grieve the sons of men. He is contrary to Jesus Christ, who gave himself a ransom for his enemies, and made himself a curse to redeem them from the curse ; and condescended in his incarnation to the nature of man, and in his passion to the cross and suffering which they deserved ; and being rich and Lord of all, yet made himself poor, that we by his poverty might be made rich. He endured the Cross and despised the shame, and made himself of as no reputation, accounting it his honour and joy to be the Saviour of men's souls ; even of the poor and despised of the world. And these Oppressors live as if they were made to afflict the just, and to rob them of God's mercies, and to make crosses for other men to bear, and to tread on their brethren as stepping stones of their own advancement. The Holy Ghost is the *Comforter* of the just and faithful. And these men live as if it were their Calling to deprive men of their comfort.

3. Yea, an Oppressor is not only the *Agent* of the Devil, but his *Image*. It is the Devil that is the destroyer, and the devourer who maketh it his business to undo men and bring them into misery and distress. He is the grand oppressor of the world : Yet in this he is far short of the malignity of men-devils, 1. That he doth it not by *force* and *violence*, but by *deceit*, and hurteth no man till he hath procured his own consent to sin ; whereas our oppressors do it by their brutish force and power. 2. And the Devil destroyeth men who are not his brethren, nor of the same kind. But these oppressors never stick at the violating of such relations.

4. Oppression is a sin that greatly serveth the Devil, to the damning of men's souls, as well as to the afflicting of their bodies. And it is not a few, but millions that are undone by it. For as I shewed before, it taketh up men's Minds and Time so wholly, to get them a poor living in the world, that they have neither *mind* nor *time* for better things. They are so troubled about many things that the one thing needful is laid aside. All the labours of many a worthy able Pastor are frustrated by oppressors : To say nothing of the far greatest part of the world, where the tyranny and oppression of Heathen, Infidel and Mahometane Princes keepeth out the Gospel, and the means of life ; nor yet of any other Persecutors. If we exhort a Servant to read the Scriptures, and call upon God and think of his everlasting state, he telleth us that he hath no time to do it but when his weary body must have rest. If we desire the Masters of families to instruct and catechise their children and servants, and pray with them, and read the Scriptures and other good Books to them, they tell us the same, that they have no time, but when they should sleep, and that on the Lord's Day their tired bodies and careful minds are unfit to attend and ply such work. So that *necessity* quitteth their consciences in their ignorance and neglect of heavenly things and maketh them think it the work only of Gentlemen and rich men, who have leisure (but are further alienated from it by prosperity than these are by their poverty). And thus oppression destroyeth Religion, and the people's souls, as well as their estates.

5. Oppression further endangereth both the souls of men, and the publick peace, and the safety of Princes, by tempting the poor multitude into discontents, *sedition* and insurrections. Every man is naturally a lover of himself,

above others : And the poor, as well as the rich and Rulers, have an interest of their own which ruleth them : And they will hardly honour, or love, or think well of them by whom they suffer. It is as natural almost for a man under oppression to be discontented and complain as for a man in a Feavor to complain of sickness, heat and thirst. No Kingdom on earth is so holy and happy as to have all or most of the subjects such confirmed eminent Saints, as will be contented to be undone, and will love and honour those that undo them. Therefore men must be taken as they are. If *oppression maketh wise men mad*, Eccles. vii. 7, much more the multitude, who are far from wisdom. Misery maketh men desperate, when they think that they cannot be much worse than they are. How many Kingdoms have been thus fired (as wooden wheels will be when one part rubbeth too hard and long upon the other)! Yea, if the Prince be never so good and blameless, the cruelty of the Nobles and the rich men of the Land may have the same effects. And in these combustions the peace of the Kingdom, the lives and souls of the seditious, are made a sacrifice to the lusts of the Oppressors.

DIRECTION 2.—Consider with fear how *Oppression* turneth the groans and cries of the poor to the God of revenge against the *Oppressors*. And woe to that man that hath the tears and prayers of oppressed innocents sounding the alarm to vindicate Justice, to awake for their relief. *And shall not God avenge his own elect, which cry day and night to him, though he bear long with them? I tell you that he will avenge them speedily.*—Luke xviii. 7, 8. *The Lord will be a refuge to the oppressed.*—Psal. ix. 9. *To judge the fatherless and the oppressed, that the man of the earth may no more oppress.*—Psal. x. 18. *The Lord executeth*

righteousness and judgement for all that are oppressed.—Psal. ciii. 6, and cxlvi. 7. Yea, God is doubly engaged to be revenged upon oppressors, and hath threatened a special execution of his judgement against them above most other sinners : Partly as it is an act of *mercy* and *relief* to the *oppressed*, So that the matter of *threatning* and *vengeance* to the oppressor is the matter of God's *promise* and *favour* to the sufferers : And partly as it is an act of his *Vindictive Justice* against such as so heinously break his laws. The oppressor hath indeed his time of Power, and in that time the oppressed seem to be forsaken and neglected of God ; as if he did not hear their cries. But when his patience hath endured the tyranny of the proud, and his wisdom hath tried the patience of the sufferers to the determined time, how speedily and terribly then doth vengeance overtake the oppressors, and make them warnings to those that follow them. In the hour of the wicked and of the power of darkness Christ himself was *oppressed* and *afflicted*.—Isa. liii. 7, *and in his humiliation his judgement taken was away.*—Acts viii. 33. But how quickly did the destroying revenge overtake those bloody zealots, and how grievous is the ruin which they lie under to this day, which they thought by that same murder to have escaped. *Solomon* saith, Eccles. iv. 1, *he considered all the oppressions that are under the sun, and behold the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter, and on the side of the oppressors there was power, but they had no comforter.* Which made him praise the *dead* and the *unborn*. But yet he that goeth with *David* into the sanctuary, and seeth the end of the oppressors shall perceive them set in slippery places, and tumbling down to destruction in a moment.—Psal. xxxvii. and lxxiii. The *Israelites* in *Ægypt* seemed long to groan and

cry in vain. But when the determinate time of their deliverance came God saith, *I have surely seen the affliction of my people, and have heard their cry by reason of their task masters ; for I know their sorrows : and I am come down to deliver them—Behold the cry of the children of Israel is come up unto me, and I have also seen the oppression wherewith the Egyptians oppress them.—Exod. iii. 7, 8, 9 ; Deut. xxvi. 6, 7. The Egyptians evil intreated us, and afflicted us, and laid upon us hard bondage, and when we cried to the Lord God of our Fathers, the Lord heard our voice, and looked on our affliction, and our labour, and our oppression.—See Psal. cvii. 39, 40, 41, 42 ; So Psal. xii. 5, 6. For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord, I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him (or would ensnare him). Thou shalt keep him, Lord, thou shalt preserve them from this generation for ever. Trust not therefore in oppression, Psal. lxii. 10, for God is the avenger, and his plagues shall revenge the injuries of the oppressed.*

DIRECTION 3.—*Remember what an odious name oppressors commonly leave behind them upon earth.* No sort of men are mentioned by posterity with greater hatred and contempt. For the *interest of mankind* directeth them hereunto, and may *prognosticate* it as well as the *Justice of God*. However the *power* of proud oppressors may make men afraid of speaking to their faces what they think, yet those that are out of *their reach* will pour out the bitterness of their souls against them. And when once *death* hath tyed their cruel hands, or any judgement of God hath cast them down and knockt out their teeth, how freely will the distressed vent their grief ; and fame will not be afraid to deliver their ugly picture to posterity, according to their

desert. Methinks therefore that even Pride itself should be a great help to banish oppression from the world ! What an honourable name hath a *Trajan*, a *Titus*, an *Antonine*, an *Alexander Severus* ! And what an odious name hath a *Nero*, a *Caligula*, a *Commodus*, a *D'Alva*, etc. ! Most proud men affect to be extolled, and to have a glorious name survive them when they are dead : and yet they take the course to make their memory abominable. So much doth sin contradict and disappoint the sinner's hopes !

DIRECTION 4.—*Be not strangers to the condition or complaints of any that are your inferiours.* It is the misery of many Princes and Nobles, that they are guarded about with such as keep all the lamentations of their Subjects and Tenants from their ears, or represent them only as the murmurings of unquiet discontented men : So that Superiours shall know no more of their inferiours case than their attendants please ; nor no more of the reproach that falleth upon themselves. Their case is to be pitied ; but the case of their inferiours more : (For it is their own wilful choice which hath imprisoned their understandings, with such informers ; and it is their unexcusable negligence which keepeth them from seeking truer information.) A good *Landlord* will be familiar with the meanest of his Tenants, and will encourage them freely to open their complaints, and will labour to inform himself *who* is in poverty and distress, and how it cometh to pass ; that, when he hath heard all, he may understand whether it be his own oppression or his Tenant's fault, that is the cause : when proud self-seeking men disdain such inferior converse, and if they have servants that do but tell them their Tenants have a good bargain, and are murmuring, un-

thrifty, idle persons, they believe them without any more enquiry, and in negligent ignorance oppress the poor.

DIRECTION 5.—*Mortify your own lusts, and sinful curiosity, which maketh you think that you need so much, as tempteth you to get it by oppressing others.* Know well how little is truly necessary ! And how little nature (well-taught) is contented with ! And what a privilege it is to *need* but little ! Pride and curiosity are an insatiable gulf. Their daily trouble seemeth to them a necessary accommodation. Such abundance must be laid out on superfluous recreations, buildings, ornaments, furniture, equipage, attendants, entertainments, visitations, braveries, and a world of *need-nots* (called by the names of handsomness, cleanliness, nearness, conveniences, delights, usefulness, honours, civilities, comeliness, etc.) So much doth carnal concupiscence, pride and curiosity thus devour, that hundreds of the poor must be oppressed to maintain it. And many a man that hath many score or hundred Tenants, who with all their families daily toil to get him provision for his fleshly lusts, doth find at the years end that all will hardly serve the turn, but this greedy devourer could find room for more : when one of his poor Tenants could live and maintain all his family comfortably, if he had but as much as his landlord bestoweth upon one suit of Clothes, or one proud entertainment, or one Horse, or on a pack of Hounds. I am not persuading the highest to level their garb and expenses equal with the lowest : But mortify pride, curiosity and gluttony, and you will find less need to oppress the poor, or to feed your concupiscence with the sweat and groans of the afflicted.

DIRECTION 6.—*Be not the sole Judge of your own actions in a controverted case ; but if any complain of you, hear the*

judgement of others that are wise and impartial in the case. For it is easy to misjudge where self-interest is concerned.

DIRECTION 7.—*Love your poor brethren as yourselves, and delight in their welfare as if it were your own.* And then you will never oppress them willingly ; and if you do it ignorantly you will quickly *feel* it and *give over* upon their just complaint : As you will quickly feel when you hurt yourselves, and need no great exhortation to forbear.

TIT. 2.—CASES OF CONSCIENCE ABOUT OPPRESSION,
ESPECIALLY OF TENANTS.

Question 1. *Is it lawful for a mean man, who must needs make the best of it, to purchase tenanted land of a liberal landlord, who setteth his tenants a much better pennyworth than the buyer can afford ?*

Answer : Distinguish 1. Between a seller who understandeth all this and one that doth not : 2. Between a tenant that hath by custom a half-title to his easier rent and one that hath not : 3. Between a tenant that consenteth and one that consenteth not. 4. Between buying it when a liberal man might else have bought it, and buying it when a worse else would have bought it. 5. Between a case of scandal and of no scandal.

And so I answer, 1. If the landlord that selleth it expect that the buyer do use the Tenants as well as he hath done, and sell it accordingly, it is unrighteous to do otherwise (ordinarily). 2. In many Countreys it is the custom not to turn out a tenant, nor to raise his rent ; so that many generations have held the same land at the same rent : which though it give no legal title, is yet a half-title in

common estimation. In such a case it will be scandalous, and infamous, and injurious, and therefore unlawful, to purchase it with a purpose to raise the rent, and do accordingly. 3. In case that a better Landlord would buy it, who would use the Tenant better than you can do, it is not (*ordinarily*) lawful for you to buy it. I either express or imply *ordinarily* in most of my solutions; because that there are some exceptions lye against almost all such answers, in extraordinary cases; which the greatest Volume can scarce enumerate.

But if 1. It be the seller's own doing to withdraw his liberality so far from his Tenants, as to sell his Land on hard rates, on supposition that the buyer will improve it: 2. And if it be a Tenant that cannot either by custome or any other plea, put in a claim in point of equity to his easie-rented land; 3. And if as bad a Landlord would buy it if you do not: 4. If it be not a real scandal: I say if all these four concurr: 5. Or (alone) if the Tenant consent freely to your purchase on those terms; then it is no injury. But the common course is for a covetous man that hath money never to consider what a loser the tenant is by his purchase, but to buy and improve the Land at his own pleasure; which is no better than Oppression.

Question 2. *May not a Landlord take as much for his Land as it is worth?*

Answer 1: Sometimes it is Land that no man can claim an equitable title to hold upon any easier rent, and sometimes it is otherwise, as aforesaid, by custom and long possession, or other reasons. 2. Sometimes the Tenant is one that you are obliged to shew *Mercy* to; and sometimes he is one that no more than commutative justice is due to. And so I answer, 1. If it be an old Tenant who by

custome or any other ground can claim an equitable title to his old pennyworth, you may not enhaunce the Rent to the full worth. 2. If it be one that you are obliged to shew *Mercy* as well as Justice to, you may not take the full worth. 3. The common case in England is, that the Landlords are of the Nobility or Gentry, and the Tenants are poor men, who have nothing but what they get by their hard labour out of the Land which they hold : And in this case some abatement of the full worth is but such a necessary Mercy, as may be called justice. Note still, that by *the full worth* I mean, so much as you could set it for to a stranger who expecteth nothing but strict justice, as men buy and sell things in a Market.

But 1. If you deal with a Tenant as rich or richer than yourself, or with one that needeth not your mercy, or is no fit object of it : 2. And if it be land that no man can by custome claim equitably to hold on lower terms ; and so it is no injury to another, nor just scandal, then you may lawfully raise it to the full worth. Sometimes a poor man setteth a House or Land to a rich man, where the scruple hath no place.

Question 3. *May a Landlord raise his Rents, though he take not the full worth ?*

Answer : He may do it when there is just reason for it, and none against it. There is just reason for it when 1. The Land was much underset before : 2. Or when the Land is proportionably improved : 3. Or when the plenty of money maketh a greater summ to be in effect no more than a lesser heretofore : 4. Or when an increase of persons or other accident maketh Land dearer than it was. But then it must be supposed, 1. That no Contract, 2. Nor custome, 3. Nor Service and Merit, do give the Tenant

any equitable right to his better pennyworth. And also that Mercy prohibite not the change.

Question 4 : *How much must a Landlord set his Land below the full worth, that he may be no oppressor or unmerciful to his Tenants ?*

Answer : No one proportion can be determined of ; because a great alteration may be made in respect to the Tenant's ability, his merit, to the time, and place, and other accidents. Some Tenants are so rich, as is said, that you are not bound to any abatement. Some are so bad that you are bound to no more than strict justice and common humanity to them. Some years (like the last, when a longer drowth than any man alive had known, burnt up the Grass) disableth a Tenant to pay his Rent. Some Countreys are so scarce of money that a little abatement is more than in another place. But ordinarily the common sort of Tenants in *England* should have so much abated of the fullest worth, that they may comfortably live on it, and follow their labours with cheerfulness of mind, and liberty to serve God in their families, and to mind the matters of their salvation, and not to be necessitated to such toil, and care, and pinching want, as shall make them liker Slaves than Free-men, and make their lives uncomfortable to them, and make them unfit to serve God in their families, and seasonably mind eternal things.

Question 5 : *What if the Landlord be in debt, or have some present want of money, may he not then raise the rent of those lands, which were under-let before ?*

Answer : If his pride pretend want where there is none, (as to give extraordinary portions with his daughters, to erect sumptuous buildings, etc)., this is no good excuse for oppression. But if he really fall into want, then all that

his Tenants hold as meer *gifts* from his liberality, he may withdraw (as being no longer able to give). But that which they had by custome an equitable title to, or by contract also a legal title to, he may not withdraw. (And yet all this is his sin, if he brought that poverty culpably on himself : it is his sin in the *cause*, though, supposing that *cause*, the raising of his Rent be lawful). But it is not every debt in a rich man, who hath other wayes of paying it, which is a true necessity in this Case. And if a present debt made it necessary only at that time, it is better (by Fine or otherwise) make a present supply, than thereupon to lay a perpetual burden on the Tenants, when the cause is ceased.

Question 6 : *What if there be abundance of honest people in far greater want than my Tenants are (yea, perhaps Preachers of the Gospel), and I have no other way to relieve them unless I raise my rents ? Am I not bound rather to give to the best and poorest, than to others ?*

Answer : Yes, if it were a case that concerned *meer giving* : But when you must *take away* from one to *give* to another, there is more to be considered in it. 'Therefore at least in these two cases you may not raise your Tenants' Rents to relieve the best or poorest whosoever : 1. In case that he have some equitable title to your Land, as upon the easier Rent : 2. Or in case that the scandal of seeming injustice or cruelty is like to do more hurt to the interest of *Religion* and men's souls, than your relieving the poor with the addition would do good : (which a prudent man by collation of probable consequences may satisfactorily discern). But if it were not only to preserve the *comforts* but to *save the lives* of others in their present famine, nature teacheth you to take that which is *truly your own*, both

from your tenants and your servants, and your own mouths, to relieve men in such extream distress : and Nature will teach all men to judge it your duty, and no scandalous oppression. But when you cannot relieve the ordinary wants of the poor, without such a scandalous raising of your Rents as will do more harm than your alms would do good, God doth not then call you to give such Alms, but you are to be supposed to be *unable*.

Question 7 : *May I raise a tenant's rent, or turn him out of his House, because he is a bad man ? by a kind of penalty ?*

Answer : A bad man hath a title to his *Own*, as well as a good man : And therefore if he have either legal or equitable title, you may not ; Nor yet if the scandal of it is like to do more hurt than the good can countervail which you intend. Otherwise you may either raise his Rent, or turn him out, if he be a wicked, profligate, incorrigible person, after due admonition : Yea, and you *ought* to do it, lest you be a cherisher of wickedness. If the Parents under *Moses' Law* were bound to accuse their own Son to the Judges in such a case, and say, *This our Son is stubborn and rebellious ; he will not obey our voice : he is a glutton and a drunkard ; and all the men of the city must stone him till he dye, to put away evil from among them,*—Deut. xxi. 18, 19, 20, 21, Then surely a wicked Tenant is not so far to be spared as to be cherished by bounty in his sin. It is the Magistrates' work to punish him by governing justice : But it is *your work* as a prudent Benefactor to withhold your *gifts* of bounty from him. And I think it is one of the great sins of this age that this is not done, it being one of the notablest means imaginable to reform the Land, and make it happy, if landlords would thus punish or turn out their wicked incorrigible Tenants. It would do much more than the

Magistrate can do. The vulgar are most effectually ruled by their interest, as we rule our Dogs and Horses more by the Government of their bellies, than by force. They will most obey those on whom they apprehend their good or hurt to have most dependance. If Landlords would regard their Tenants' souls, so much as to correct them thus for their wickedness, they would be the greatest benefactors and reformers of the Land. But alas, who shall first reform the Landlords? And when may it be hoped that many or most Great men will be such?

Question 8 : *May one take a house over another's head (as they speak), or take the Land which he is a Tenant to before he be turned out of possession?*

Answer : Not out of a greedy desire to be rich, nor coveting that which is another's. Nor yet awhile he is any way injured by it : nor yet when the act is like to be so scandalous, as to hurt men's souls more than it will profit your body. If you come with the offer of a greater rent than he can give, or than the Landlord hath just cause to require of him, to get it out of his hands by over-bidding him, this is mere covetous oppression. But in other cases it is lawful to take the house and land which another Tenant hath possession of : As 1. In case that he willingly leave it, and consent. 2. Or if he unwillingly (but justly) be put out, and another Tenant must be provided against the time that he is to be dispossessed. 3. Yea, if he be *unjustly* put out, if he that succeed him have no hand in it, nor by his taking the house or land do promote the injury, nor scandalously countenance injustice. For when a Tenement is void, though by injury, it doth not follow that no man may ever live in it more : But if the *title* be his that is turned out, then you may not take it of another,

because you will possess another man's habitation. But if it should go for a standing rule, that no man may in any case take a house over another man's head (as the countrey people would have it), then every man's house and land must be long untenanted, to please the will of every contentious or unjust possessor : And any one that hath no title, or will play the knave, may injure the true owner at his pleasure.

Question 9 : *May a rich man put out his Tenants, to lay their Tenements to his own Demesnes, and so lay House to House, and Land to Land ?*

Answer : In two cases he may not : 1. In case he injure the Tenant that is put out, by taking that from him which he hath right to, without his satisfaction and consent : 2. And in case it really tend to the injury of the Commonwealth, by depopulation, and diminishing the strength of it : Otherwise it is lawful : and done in moderation by a pious man, may be very convenient : 1. By keeping the Land from beggery through the multitudes of poor families, that overset it : 2. By keeping the more servants, among whom he may keep up a better order, and more pious government in his own house (making it as a Church), than can be expected in poor families : And his Servants will (for soul and body) have a much better life than if they married and had families, and small Tenements of their own. But in a countrey that rather wanteth people, it is otherwise.

Question 10 : *May one man be a tenant to divers tenements ?*

Answer : Yes, if it tend not 1. To the wrong of any other, 2. Nor to depopulation, or to hinder the livelihood of others, while one man engrosseth more than is necessary or meet : For then it is unlawful.

Question 11 : *May one man have many Trades or Callings ?*

Answer : Not, when he doth, in a covetous desire to grow rich, disable his poor neighbours to live by him on the same Callings, seeking to engross all the gain to himself : nor yet when they are Callings which are inconsistent : or when he cannot manage one aright, without the sinful neglect of the other. But otherwise it is as lawful to have two Trades as one.

Question 12 : *Is it lawful for one man to keep shops in several Market Towns ?*

Answer : The same answer will serve as to the foregoing question.



IV.—CASES ABOUT, AND DIRECTIONS AGAINST PRODIGALITY AND SINFUL WASTEFULNESS.

[*Chap. xxi.*]

BECAUSE men's carnal interest and sensuality is predominant with the greatest part of the world, and therefore governeth them in their judgement about *Duty* and *Sin*, it hence cometh to pass that *Wastefulness* and *Prodigality* are easily believed to be faults, so far as they bring men to shame or beggary, or apparently cross their own pleasure or commodity. But in other cases, they are seldom acknowledged to be any sins at all : Yea, all that are *gratified* by them, account them virtues, and there is scarce any sin which is so commonly commended : Which must needs tend to the increase of it, and to harden

men in their impenitency in it. And verily if covetousness and selfishness, or poverty did not restrain it in more persons than true conscience doth, it were like to go for the most laudable quality, and to be judged most meritorious of present praise and future happiness. Therefore in directing you against this sin, I must first tell you *What it is*, and then tell you *wherein the malignity of it doth consist*. The first will be best done in the definition of it, and enumeration of the instances, and examination of each one of them.

DIRECTION 1. *Truly understand what necessary frugality, or parsimony, and sinful wastefulness are.*

Necessary frugality or sparing it: An act of fidelity, obedience and gratitude, by which we use all our estates so faithfully for the chief Owner, so obediently to our chief ruler, and so gratefully to our chief benefactor, as that we waste it not any other way.

As we hold our estates under God, as Owner, Ruler, and Benefactor, so must we devote them to him, and use them for him in each relation : And Christian *parsimony* cannot be defined by a mere negation of active wastefulness, because idleness itself, and *not using it aright*, is real wastefulness.

Wastefulness or prodigality is that sin of unfaithfulness, disobedience and ingratitude, by which either by action or omission we mis-spend or waste some part of our estates to the injury of God, our Absolute Lord, our Ruler and Benefactor : that is, Besides and against his interest, his command, and his pleasure and glory, and our ultimate end.

These are true definitions of the duty of *frugality*, and the sin of *wastefulness*.

Instance 1. One way of sinful *wastefulness* is, *In pamper-*

ing the belly in excess, curiosity, or costliness of meat or drink :
Of which I have spoken *Chap. 8, Tom. 1.*

Question 1 : *Are all men bound to fare alike ? Or when is it wastefulness and excess ?*

Answer : This question is answered in the foresaid chapter of *Gluttony*, Par. 4. Tit. 1. 1. Distinguish between men's several tempers, and strength, and appetites : 2. And between the restraint of *Want*, and the restraint of *God's law*. And so it is thus resolved :

1. Such difference in quantity or quality as men's *health, or strength*, and real benefit requireth, may be made by them that have no want.

2. When *want* depriveth the poor of that which would be really for their health, and strength, and benefit, it is not their duty who have no such want to conform themselves to other men's afflictions : Except when other reasons do require it.

3. But all men are bound to avoid real excess in *matter*, or *manner*, and curiosity, and to lay out nothing *needlessly* on their bellies ; yea, nothing which they are called to lay out a better way. Understand this answer and it will suffice you.

Instance 2. Another way of *Prodigality* is by needless costly Visits and Entertainments.

Question 2. *What costs upon Visits and Entertainments is unlawful and prodigal ?*

Answer : 1. Not only all that which hath an *ill original*, as Pride or flattery of the rich ; and all that hath an *ill End*, as being merely to keep up a carnal unprofitable interest and correspondency : but also all that which is excessive in degree. I know you will say, But that's the difficulty to know when it is excessive : It is not altogether im-

pertinent to say when it is above the proportion of your own estate ; or the ordinary use of those of your own rank, or when it plainly tendeth to cherish gluttony or excess in others : But these answers are no exact solution. I add, therefore, that it is excess *when anything is that way expended, which you are called to expend another way.*

Object. *But this leaveth it still as difficult as before.*

Answer : When in rational probability a *greater good* may be done by *another way* of expence, *consideratis considerandis*, and a *greater good* is by *this way* neglected, then you had a call to spend it otherwise, and *this* expence is sinful.

Object. *It is a doubt whether of two goods it be a man's duty always to choose the greater.*

Answer : Speaking of that Good which is within his choice, it is no more doubt than whether *Good* be the object of the will. If Good be eligible *as good*, then the greatest good is most eligible.

Object. *But this is still a difficulty insuperable : How can a man in every action and expense discern, which way it is that the greatest good is like to be attained? This putteth a man's conscience upon endless perplexities, and we shall never be sure that we do not sin : For when I have given to a poor man, or done some good, for ought I know there was a poorer that should have had it, or a greater good that should have been done.*

Answer : 1. The contrary opinion legitimateth almost all villany, and destroyeth most good works as to ourselves or any others. If a man may lawfully prefer a *known lesser good* before a *greater*, and be justified because that the lesser is a *real good*, than he may be feeding his Horse when he should be saving the life of his child or neighbour, or quenching a fire in the City, or defending the person

of his King. He may deny to serve his *King* and *Countrey*, and say, I was ploughing or sowing, the while : He may prefer sacrifice before mercy : He may neglect his soul, and serve his body : He may plough on the Lord's Day, and neglect all God's Worship. A lesser duty is no duty but a sin, when a greater is to be done. Therefore it is certain that when two *goods* come together to our choice, the greater is to be chosen, or else we sin. 2. As you expect that your Steward should proportion his expenses according to the necessity of your business, and not give more for a thing than it is worth, nor lay out your money upon *smaller* commodities, while he leaveth your *greater* business unprovided for : And as you expect that your Servant who hath many things in the day to do, should have so much skill as to know which to prefer, and not to leave undone the *chiefest*, whilst he spendeth his time upon the *least* : So doth God require that his servants' labour to be so *skilful* in his service, as to be able to compare their businesses together, and to know which at every season to prefer. If Christianity required no wisdom and skill, it were below men's common Trades and Callings. 3. And yet, when you have done your best here, and truly endeavour to serve God faithfully, with the best skill and diligence you have, you need not make it a matter of scrupulosity, perplexity and vexation : For God accepteth you, and pardoneth your infirmities, and rewardeth your fidelity. And what if it do follow, that you know not but there may be some sinful omission of a better way ? Is that so strange or intollerable a conclusion ? As long as it is only a pardoned failing, which should not hinder the comfort of your obedience ? Is it strange to you that we are all imperfect ? And imperfect in every good we do ? Even



by a culpable sinful imperfection ? You never loved God in your lives without a sinful imperfection in your love. And yet nothing in you is more acceptable to him than your love. Shall we think a case of Conscience ill-resolved, unless we may conclude that we are sure we have no sinful imperfection in our duty ? If your Servant have not perfect skill, in knowing what to prefer in buying and selling, or in his work, I think you will neither allow him therefore to neglect the greater and better, *knowingly*, or by careless negligence, nor yet would you have him sit down and whine, and say, I know not which to choose. But you would have him learn to be as *skilful* as he can, and then willingly and cheerfully do his business with the best skill, and care, and diligence he can : And this you will best accept.

So that this holdeth as the truest and exactest solution, of this and many another such case. He that spendeth that upon an entertainment of some great ones, which should relieve some poor distressed families, that are ready to perish, doth spend it sinfully. If you cannot see this in *Gods cause*, suppose it were the *Kings*, and you will see it. If you have but twenty pound to spend, and your tax or subsidy cometh to so much : if you entertain some Noble friend with that money, will the King be satisfied with that as an excuse ? Or will you not be told that the King should have first been served ? Remember him then who will one day ask. *Have you fed, or clothed, or visited me ?—Mat. xxv.* You are not absolute Owners of anything, but the stewards of God, and must expend it as he appointeth you. And if you let the poor lie languishing in necessities, whilst you are at great charges to entertain the rich without *necessity* or a *greater good*, you must answer it as an unfaithful Servant.

And yet on the other side, it may fall out that a person of quality, by a seasonable, prudent, handsome, respectful entertainment of his equals or superiors, may do more good than by bestowing that charge upon the poor. He may save more than he expendeth, by avoiding the displeasures of men in power. He may keep up his interest, by which if he be faithful, he may do God and his Countrey more service, than if he had given so much to the poor. And when really it is a *needful means* to a *greater good*, it is a *duty* : and then to omit it, and give that cost to the poor, would be a sin.

Object : *But if this rule hold, a man must never do but one kind of good ; when he hath found out the greatest, he must do nothing else.*

Answer : He must always do the *greatest good* : but the *same thing* is not at all times the *greatest good*. Out of season and measure a good may be turned to an evil. Praying in its season is better than ploughing ; and ploughing in its season is better than praying, and will do more good : For God will more accept and bless it.

Object : *Therefore it seemeth the prudentest way to divide my expences according to the proportion of others of my quality ; some to the poor, and some to necessary charges, and some to actions of due civility ?*

Answer : That there must be a just distribution is no question, because God hath appointed you several duties for your expenses. But the question is of the *proportions*, of each respectively. Where God hath made many duties constantly necessary (as to maintain your own bodies, your children, to pay tribute to the King, to help the poor, to maintain the charges of the Church) there all must be wisely proportioned. But entertainments, recreations,

and other such after to be mentioned, which are not constant duties, may be sometimes good and sometimes sinful : And the measure of such expenses must be varied only by the rule already laid down, viz. According to the proportion of the effect, or good which is like to follow, Though the custom of others of the same rank may sometimes intimate what proportion will be suitable to that lawful end, And sometimes the *inordinate custome* of others, will rather tell one what is to be avoided. Therefore true prudence (without a carnal bias) comparing the *good effects* together, which rationally are like to follow, is the only resolver of this doubt. Which having so largely shewed, I shall refer you to it, in the solution of many of the following questions.

Instance 3 : *Another way of sinful wasting is upon unnecessary sumptuous buildings.*

Question 3 : *When is it prodigality to erect sumptuous Edifices ?*

Answer : Not when they are for the publick good, either in point of use, or ornament and honour, so be it no greater good be thereby omitted : Therefore it is not Churches, Hospitals, Burses, or Common Halls that I am speaking of : Nor when they are proportioned to the quality of the person, for the honour of Magistracy, or for a mans necessary use. But when it is for the ostentation of a mans riches, or rather of his *Pride*, and for the gratifying of a carnal irrational fancy ; And when a man bestoweth more upon buildings, than is proportionable to his estate, and to his better expenses ; and (to speak more exactly) when he bestoweth that upon his buildings, which some greater service calleth for at that time ; it is then his prodigality and sin.

Question 4 : *Here once for all, let us enquire, Whether it be not lawful, as in dyet, so in buildings, recreation and other such things, to be at some charge for our Delight, as well as for our Necessities ?*

Answer : The question is thus commonly stated, but not well. For it seemeth to imply, that no *Delights* are *necessary*, and so putteth things in opposition, which are oft co-incident. Therefore I distinguish, 1. Of necessity : Some things are necessary to our being, and some to our felicity, and some but to our smaller benefit. 2. Of delight. Some delight is sinful, as gratifying a sinful humour or disposition ; Some is unnecessary or wholly useless ; and some is necessary, either to our greater or our lesser good. And so the true solution is : 1. The sinful delight of a proud, a covetous, a lustful, a voluptuous mind, is neither to be purchased or used. 2. A delight wholly *needless*, that is, unprofitable, is sinful if it be purchased, but at the price of a farthing, or of a bit of bread, or of a minutes time : Because that is cast away which purchaseth it. 3. A delight which tendeth to the health of the body, and the alacrity of the mind, to fit it for our calling and the service of God (being not placed in any forbidden thing) may be both indulged and purchased, so it be not above its worth. 4. So far as delight in *house*, or *sports*, or any creature, tendeth to corrupt our minds, and draw us to the love of this present world, and alienate our hearts from Heaven, so far must they be resisted and mortified, or sanctified and twined a better way. 5. In the utensils of our duty to God, usually a *moderate natural delight* is a great help to the duty, and may become a *spiritual delight* : As a delight in my Books, in the Preachers utterance, in the melody of Psalms, in my study, and its

conveniences, in my walk for meditation, etc. And a delight in our food and recreations, maketh them much fitter to cherish health, and to attain their ends ; so it be not corrupt, immoderate, or abused to evil ends.

Instance 4 : Another way of *Prodigality* is in needless costly Recreations.

Question 5 : *Is all cost laid out upon recreations unlawful ?*

Answer : No : but, *cæteris paribus*, we should choose the cheapest, and be at no needless cost on them ; nor lay out anything on them, which *consideratis considerandis* might be better bestowed. But of this before.

Instance 5 : Another way of *Prodigality* is in over-costly apparel.

Question 6 : *What may be accounted Prodigality in the costliness of apparel ?*

Answer : Not that which is only for a due distinction of superiors from inferiors, or which is needful to keep up the Vulgars reverence to Magistrates. But 1. All that which is meerly serviceable to pride, or vain curiosity, or amorous lust, or an affectation to be thought to be more comely and beautiful than others. 2. All that which hath more cost bestowed upon it, than the benefit or end is worth. 3. Or which hath that cost which should be rather laid out another way, upon better uses. The cheapest apparel must be chosen which is warm and comely, and fitted to the right ends. And we must come nearer those that are below our ranck, than those above it.

Instance 6 : Also *Prodigality* is much shewed in the cost which is laid out for needless pomp and ostentation of greatness or curiosity, in keeping a numerous retinue, and in their gallantry, and in keeping many Horses, and costly furniture and attendance.

Question 7 : *When is a costly retinue, and other pompous furniture to be accounted Prodigality ?*

Answer : Not when they are needful to the honour of magistracy, and so to the Government of the Commonwealth : Nor when it is made but a due means to some lawful end, which answereth the cost. But when it is either the fruits and maintenance of Pride, or exceedeth the proportion of mens estates, or (especially) when it expendeth that which better and more necessary uses call for. It is a most odious and enormous crime to waste so many hundred or thousand pounds a year in the vanities of pomp and fruitless curiosities and need-nots, while the publick uses of the State and Church are injured through want, and while thousands of poor families are racked with cares, and pinched with necessities round about us.

Instance 7 : Another way of Prodigality is that which is called by many, *keeping* a good house ; that is, in unnecessary abundance, and waste of meat and drink, and other provisions.

Question 8 : *When may great house-keeping be accounted prodigality ?*

Answer : Not when it is but a convenient work of charity, to feed the poor, and relieve the distressed, or entertain strangers, or to give such necessary entertainment to equals or superiors as is before described : But when the truest relief of the poor shall be omitted (and it may be poor Tenants wracked and oppressed) to keep up the fame and grandeur of their abundance, and to seem magnificent, and praised by men for great house-keepers. The whole and large estates of many of the rich and great ones of the world goeth this way, and so much is devoured by it, as starveth almost all good works.

Instance 8 : Another way of prodigality is *Cards and Dice*, and other gaming ; in which whilst men desire to get that which is anothers, they lose and waste their own.

Instance 9 : Another act of Prodigality is giving over-great portions with children. It being a sinful waste of our Masters stock, to lay it out otherwise than he would have us, and to serve our pride and self-interest in our children, instead of him.

Question 9 : *When may our childrens portions be accounted prodigality, or too great ?*

Answer : Not when you provide for their comfortable living according to your estates, and give them that due proportion which consisteth with the discharge of other duties. But when all that men can get is thought little enough for their children ; and the business of their lives is to live in fulness themselves as long as they can, and then to leave that to their posterity, which they cannot keep themselves ! When this gulf of self-pampering and providing the like for children devoureth almost all that you can gather, and the poor and other needful uses are put off with some inconsiderable pittance. And when there is not a due proportion kept between your provision for your children, and the other duties which God requireth of you : *Psal. xlix. 7, 8, 9, 11, 13. Their inward thought is, that their houses shall be perpetuated, and their dwelling places to generations : they call their Lands after their own names—— This their way is their folly ; yet their posterity approve their saying. Psal. lxxiii. 12. Behold, these are the ungodly, who prosper in the world, they increase in riches : Psal. xvii. 14. They have their portion in this life :—— They are full of children (or, their children are full), and they leave the rest of their substance to their babes. A parent*

that hath an heir, or other children, so wise, religious and liberal, as that they are like to be more charitable and serviceable to good uses, than any other whom he can trust with his estate, should not only leave such children sufficient for themselves, but enable them as much as he can to do good : For they will be more faithful trustees to him than strangers. But a Parent that hath but common and untrusty children, should do all the good he can himself, and what he would have done when he is dead, he must commit to them that are more trusty ; and allow his children but their proper maintenance. And Parents that have debauched, wicked, ungodly children (such as God commanded them to cause to be put to death, *Deut.* xxi. 18, 19, 20, 21) should allow them no more than their daily bread, if anything at all (which is their own to dispose of).

Instance 10 : *Also to be careless in many small expences, or losses, because they are but little things, and to let any such thing be cast away, is sinful prodigality.*

Question 10 : *How far is it a duty to be frugal in small matters, and the contrary a sin.*

Answer : We must not over value anything, great or small : nor be sparing out of covetousness : nor yet in an imprudent way, which *seemeth* to signifie baseness and worldliness when it is not so : Nor must we be too tinkering in bargaining with others, when every penny which we get by it is lost to one that needeth it more. But we must see that nothing of any use be lost through satiety, negligence or contempt : For the smallest is part of Gods gifts and talents, given us, not to cast away, but to use as he would have us. And there is nothing that is good so small, but some one hath need of it, or some good use or other may be made of it. Even Christ when he had fed thousands

by a miracle, yet commanded his disciples to *gather up the broken bread or fragments, that nothing be lost*, John vi. 12, which plainly sheweth that it is a duty which the richest man that is, is not exempted from, to be frugal, and a sin in the greatest prince to be wasteful of any thing that is good. But this must not be in sordid covetousness, but in obedience to God, and to do good to others. He is commendable who giveth *liberally* to the poor, out of his abundance. But he is much more commendable, who is a good husband for the poor, as worldlings are for themselves ; and frugally getteth and saveth as much as he can, and denieth all superfluities to himself and all about him, that he may have the more to give to pious and charitable uses.

Instance 11 : *Idleness* also and negligence in our Callings, is sinful wastefulness and prodigality : When either the pride of Gentility maketh people think themselves too good to labour, or to look after the matters of their families, or slothfulness maketh them think it a life too toilsome for their flesh to bear.—*Prov. xviii. 9. He that is slothful in his work, is brother to him that is a great waster* : These drones consume that which others labour for, but are no gatherers themselves.

Question 11 : *Is every one bound to labour in a Calling ?*

Answer : This is answered before in its due place.—*Tom. 1.* Every one that is able, rich or poor, must live in some profitable course of pains or labour.

Question 12 : *Is it a duty to desire and endeavour to get, and prosper, and grow rich by our labours ; when Solomon saith, Labour not to be rich ?—Prov. xxiii. 4.*

Answer : It is a sin to desire riches as worldlings and sensualists do, for the provision and maintenance of

fleshly lusts, and pride. But it is no sin, but a duty, to labour not only for labours sake, formally resting in the act done, but for that honest increase and provision, which is the end of our labour ; And therefore to choose a gainful calling rather than another, that we may be able to do good, and relieve the poor.—*Eph. iv. 28. Let him labour, working with his hands the thing that is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth.*

Question 13 : *Can one be prodigal in giving to the Church ?*

Answer : Yes, if it be in a blind zeal to maintain a useless pomp or superstition : Or if he give that which should be used or given otherwise. But this is a sin that few in these days are in much danger of.

Question 14 : *Can one be prodigal in giving to the poor ?*

Answer : Yes ; when it is blindly done, to cherish idleness in wandering beggars ; or with a conceit of meriting in point of Commutative Justice, from God : Or when that is given to the poor, which should be given to other uses (as in public tribute, maintenance of children, furtherance of the Gospel, etc.) But this is a sin that few have need to be restrained from.

Question 15 : *May a rich man expend anything upon (otherwise) lawful pomp, or conveniences or pleasures, at such a time, when there are multitudes of poor families in extremity of want ? As now, when the flames which consumed London, have left many thousands in distress ?*

Answer : Doubtless every man should spare as much for the relief of others as he can : And therefore should not only forbear all needless expenses, but those also that are needful but to such conveniences and accommodations as may be spared without a greater hurt, than is the want of such as that charges would relieve. To save the *lives*

of people in want, we must spare anything from our selves, which our own *lives* can spare. And to relieve them in their deep poverty, we must abate much more than our superfluities. To expend anything on pride and lust, is a double sin at such a time, when *Lazarus* is at our doors in want. If that *Luke* xvi. were well studied (wherein it was that the rich mans sin and danger lay, in being clothed in purple and silk, and faring sumptuously every day, while *Lazarus* wanted) it would make some sensualists wiser than they are.

But yet it must be confessed, that some few persons may be of so much worth and use to the Common-wealth (as Kings and Magistrates,) and some of so little, that the maintaining of the honour and succours of the former may be more necessary than the saving of the lives of the latter. But take heed lest pride or cruelty teach you to misunderstand this, or abuse it for your selves.

There are divers other ways of *Prodigality* or sinful waste, which I pass by, because they are such as few are concerned in : And my purpose is not to say all that may be said, but all that is needful. (As in needless Music, Physick, Books (which *Seneca* handsomely reproveth,) Gifts to servants which need not, in meer ostentation of pride to be well spoken of, and many the like ; And in *unlawful Wars*, which is the greatest sinful waster in all the world.) And as for expences in debauchery and gross wickedness, as Whoredome, revenge, in sinful law suits, etc. I here pretermit them.

DIRECTION 2.—*Understand well the Aggravations of this sin of Prodigality : viz.*

1. It is a wasting of that which is none of our own, and a robbing God of the use or service due to him in the im-

provement of his gifts. They are his, and not ours, and according to his pleasure only must be used. 2. It is a robbing the poor of that which the common Lord of the world hath appointed for them in his Law : And they will have their Action in Heaven against the prodigal. 3. It is an inhuman vice, to waste that upon pleasures, pride and needless things, which so many distressed persons stand in need of. 4. It is an injury to the Common-wealth, which is weakened by the wasteful. And the covetous themselves (that are not oppressors) are much better members of public societies than the prodigal. 5. It feedeth a life of other vice and wickedness. It is a spending Gods gifts to feed those lusts which he abhorreth. 6. It usually engageth many others in trades and labours which are unprofitable, that they may serve the lusts of these sensual prodigals. 7. And in the conclusion it prepareth a sad account for these wretches, when they must answer at the bar of God how they have used all his gifts and talents. Remember all these aggravations.

DIRECTION 3.—*Carefully mortifie that greedy fancy, and fleshly lusts, which is the wasting sin, and the devouring gulf.* Quench the fire, and you may spare all this fuel. Cure the fever or dropsy, and you may spare both your drink and life. A greedy throat, and a diseased fancy, are never satisfied, till they have wasted the peace of your consciences, with your estates, and brought you to the end of brutish sinners. Wisdome, and duty, and real benefit, are contented with a little : But lust is unsatiable. The voluptuous brute saith, I *must* have my cups, my lusts, my pleasure. And the effeminate vicious fancy of those empty souls, that mind no great and solid things, is still ranging after some vanity or other, and, like children, crying for

everything that they see another have : And the most needless, yea, burdensome things seem necessary to such. They say, *I must needs have this, and I must needs have that*, there is no being without it ; when nothing needeth it but a diseased mind, which much more needeth a Cure by grace and true mortification. Subdue pride, and sensuality, and fancy, and you may escape prodigality.

DIRECTION 4 : *Remember the nearness of your account, and ask your consciences what way of expenses will please you best in the review.* Whether at death and judgement it will be to your comfort, to find on your account, So much laid out on needless bravery, to set out this carcase which is now turning into dust : *Item*, So much upon proud entertainments of great ones : *Item*, So much on Cards, and Dice, and Stage-plays ; and so much on hounds and needless pleasures, etc. Or rather, So much to promote the preaching of the Gospel : so much to set poor children to Prentice, or to school ; so much to relieve distressed families, etc. Let *Matth. xxv.* be well read, and your account well thought on.

DIRECTION 5 : *Keep an account of your expences, and peruse them before a Fast or a Sacrament, and ask conscience, how it judgeth of them :* Yea, ask some holy prudent friend, Whether such proportions are allowable before God, and will be comfortable to you in the day of your extremity. If you are but *willing* to be cured, such means as these will not be in vain.

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